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Lilpin.

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

From their first Rise to the present Time.

Compiled from AUTHENTIC RECORDS, and
from the WRITINGS of that PEOPLE.

By J O H N G O U G H.

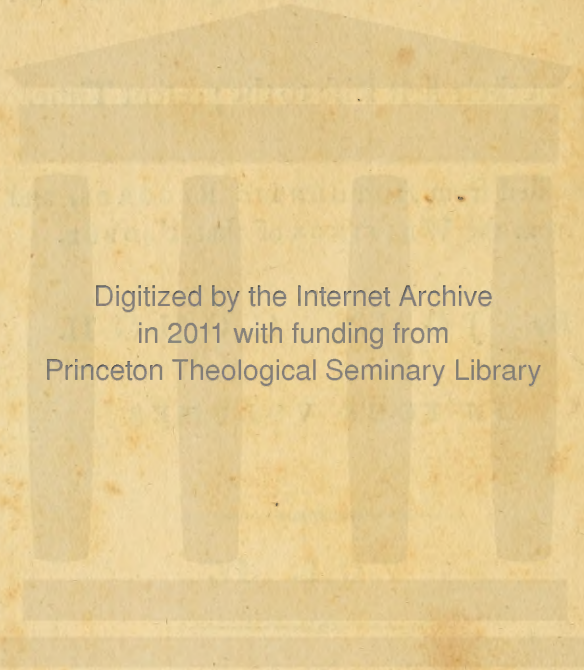
I N F O U R V O L U M E S.

V O L. IV.

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H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

B O O K VI.

C H A P. XIV.

Queen Anne ascends the Throne.—Addresses to her.—She declares her Resolution to maintain the Toleration.—Second Address.—Account of Margaret Fox.—G. Keith sent a Missionary to America.—Account of Ambrose Rigge.—His Epistle of Advice.

ANNE, the second daughter of King James, CHAP. who was married to Prince George of Denmark, XIV. succeeded to the throne by virtue of the act of settlement. Addresses of congratulation were made to her from all quarters upon her accession. The people called Quakers thought themselves no less than others called upon to condole the king's death, and testify their fidelity to the new sovereign. They accordingly drew up an address, and deputed George Whitehead

1702.
Q. Anne
ascends the
throne.

CHAP. and some other friends to present it, who being
 XIV. introduced by the Duke of Ormond and the
 ~~~~~ Earl of Marlborough, read her the follow-  
 1702. ing:

“ To Queen Anne, over England, &c.

“ May it please the Queen,

Address to  
 her.

“ We thy peaceable subjects cannot but be  
 “ sorrowfully affected with a deep sense of the  
 “ loss sustained by the death of our late King  
 “ William the third, whom God made the in-  
 “ strument of much good to these nations; a  
 “ prince who indeed desired to be a father of  
 “ his people, and as such did by his great ex-  
 “ ample as well as precept, endeavour to unite  
 “ them in interest and affection, and promoted  
 “ and confirmed a legal liberty to tender con-  
 “ sciences, by all which his reign was adorned,  
 “ to the renown of his memory.”

“ And it having pleased the all-wise God,  
 “ the disposer of kingdoms, to preserve thee  
 “ to succeed to the government of these na-  
 “ tions, and thereby to the maintaining and  
 “ consummating those great works so happily  
 “ begun, we humbly beg leave to congratulate  
 “ thy free and peaceable accession to the throne,  
 “ from whence we observe the Queen’s excel-  
 “ lent declaration, manifesting her care for the  
 “ good of all her people, and therefore doubt  
 “ not but we her protestant dissenting subjects  
 “ shall partake of her royal favour and pro-  
 “ tection.

“ We sincerely declare, that with the assis-  
 “ tance of the grace of God we will always,  
 “ according to our christian duty, demonstrate

“ our



“ our good affection, truth and fidelity to the CHAP.  
 “ Queen and her government, and heartily XIV.  
 “ pray that his wisdom may direct, and his  
 “ blessing be upon the Queen and her great 1702.  
 “ council, to the suppressing of vice and im-  
 “ morality, and the promoting of piety, peace  
 “ and charity, to the glory of God, and the  
 “ benefit of these nations.  
 “ May the King of Kings make thy reign  
 “ long and glorious, to which temporal bles-  
 “ sing we shall pray for thy eternal happi-  
 “ ness.  
 “ Signed on behalf and by the appointment  
 “ of the aforesaid people at a meeting in  
 “ London the 10th of 2d month 1702.”

This address was very favourably received by the Queen, who, upon its being read to her, answered :

“ I thank you for your address, and I assure  
 “ you of my protection.”

The Queen having afterwards publicly de-  
 clared her resolution to maintain the act of to-  
 leration in favour of dissenters, friends at their  
 succeeding yearly meeting in London thought it  
 proper to wait upon her with an address of  
 thanks for her said declaration, and the follow-  
 ing address was drawn up by said meeting,  
 and presented to her by a deputation of suitable  
 friends :

The Queen  
 declares her  
 resolution  
 to maintain  
 the tolera-  
 tion.

“ T.



## CHAP.

## XIV.

“ To Queen Anne, over England, &c.

1702.

“ The humble and thankful acknowledg-  
 “ ment of the people commonly called Quakers,  
 “ from their yearly meeting in London, the  
 “ 30th day of the third month called May,  
 “ 1702.

“ May it please the Queen,

Second ad-  
 dress to the  
 Queen.

“ We thy peaceable and dutiful subjects,  
 “ met from most parts of thy dominions, at  
 “ our usual yearly meeting (for the promotion  
 “ of piety and charity), being deeply affected  
 “ with thy free and noble resolution in thy late  
 “ speech at the prorogation of the parliament,  
 “ to preserve and maintain the act of toleration,  
 “ for the ease and quiet of all thy people,  
 “ could not but in gratitude esteem ourselves  
 “ engaged, both to thank Almighty God for  
 “ that favourable influence, and to renew and  
 “ render our humble and hearty acknowledg-  
 “ ments to the Queen for the same, assuring  
 “ her (on behalf of all our friends) of our  
 “ sincere affection and christian obedience.

“ And we beseech God, the fountain of wis-  
 “ dom and goodness, so to direct all thy coun-  
 “ sels and undertakings, that righteousness  
 “ which exalts a nation, and mercy and justice  
 “ that establish a throne, may be the character  
 “ of thy reign, and the blessings of these king-  
 “ doms under it.

“ Signed by appointment and on behalf  
 “ of the said meeting.”

Of those who presented this address, William CHAP. Penn was the deliverer, and the Queen was XIV. pleased to speak to him in a very kind manner, and not only received the said address favourably, but after it was read to her, she was 1702. pleased to give the following answer :

“ Mr. Penn, I am so well pleased that what  
 “ I have said is to your satisfaction, that you  
 “ and your friends may be assured of my protection.”

This year died Margaret, the widow of George Fox, being in or about the 87th year of her age. She was the daughter of John Askew of Marsh Grange in the parish of Dalton in Lancashire, a gentleman of an antient family and good estate, and conspicuous for piety and charity. His daughter Margaret was religiously inclined from her tender years, and was married before she attained the age of eighteen years to Thomas Fell, who being bred a lawyer, was made a justice of peace, was a member in several parliaments, appointed vice-chancellor of the county of Lancaster, and after some time a Welch judge, in which stations he acquitted himself with honour, being in reputation for wisdom, justice, moderation and mercy. He deceased in the year 1658, having been married twenty-six years, and left behind him a son and seven daughters. We have seen the means used to exasperate him against the Quakers (so called) on account of the conviction of his wife and most of his family in his absence, and the anxiety he conceived on that account; but when he came home, the discreet and obliging behaviour

Account of  
 Margaret  
 Fox.



CHAP. behaviour of his wife, and George Fox's dis-  
 XIV. course, dispelled the cloud, and opened his un-  
 1702. derstanding to perceive that the representation  
 he had received of this people was the effect of  
 antipathy, and intended to prejudice him against  
 them; he therefore continued to treat his wife  
 with his usual complacency and affection: and  
 after he gave up his house for a meeting-place  
 for her and her friends, he was not observed  
 to give much attendance upon the public wor-  
 ship, but when the meeting was kept in his  
 hall, he generally sat in an adjoining room,  
 where he could hear without appearing to join  
 the friends in their worship; and although he  
 did not profess himself of their society, he af-  
 forded them his protection against the malice of  
 their enemies, as far as lay in his power.

The principal part of Margaret Fell's trans-  
 actions, as a member of this society, have been  
 already related in the course of this history; her  
 frequent applications to King Charles and others  
 in favour of her suffering friends, (in which  
 her indefatigable perseverance gave her suc-  
 cess), she repeated at times to near the  
 King's death. To her own sufferings we have  
 only to add, that beside her premunire and im-  
 prisonments, she was several times fined for  
 preaching. After a widowhood of eleven years  
 she was married to George Fox, and survived  
 him about the same length of time. That she  
 was a woman of good sense and true greatness  
 of mind, is evident from her behaviour and de-  
 fence on her trial for refusing to swear; that  
 she was a prudent mother and skilful manager  
 of her family and domestic concerns appeared  
 in the effects thereof in her daughters, who were  
 all



all well married, honourable and well accom-  
plished women: She was conspicuous for virtue  
in civil society, but this procured her no respect  
from those who could see no virtue without the  
pale of conformity; she was eminent for her  
rank and services in religious society, and there-  
fore was distinguished by a peculiar severity of  
persecution; she was honourable in her life,  
and evidenced she was well prepared for her  
death by the excellent expressions she uttered  
near her conclusion.

CHAP.

XIV.

1702.

George Keith, who had as yet by his confor-  
mity obtained no settlement in the church of  
England, but preached in different places as the  
bishops appointed him, was about this time sent  
as a missionary to America, having raised an  
expectation that he would bring over many of  
the Quakers and others to the church (so called;)   
his success will appear when we come in course  
to treat of the state of this society in America,  
for there we shall meet with him again.

G. Keith

sent as a  
missionary.

In the year 1704, Ambrose Rigge of Ryegate  
in Surrey, departed this life. He was born at  
Banton in Westmoreland, and convinced of the  
principles of this society about the year 1652,  
and was thereupon rejected by his parents and  
relations. In some time after, he thought it his  
duty to appear as a minister amongst them, and  
travelled in the exercise of his ministry to Lon-  
don, and to the southern and western counties  
of England in or about the year 1655, in com-  
pany with Thomas Robertson: Zealous for the  
promotion of the testimony of the truth, his  
sufferings for his testimony bore proportion to  
his zeal. His imprisonment with his companion  
Thomas Robertson at Basingstoke, in the course

1704.

Account of  
Ambrose  
Rigge.His suffer-  
ings.At Basing-  
stoke.

CHAP. of that year, hath been already noticed. He  
 XIV. was again impriloned at Southampton in the  
 1704. same year. In the year 1658, passing through  
 2 these parts again, the impulse of christian duty  
 At South- incited him to visit his friends in prison there,  
 ampton. and for this office of brotherly kindness he was  
 seized by the constable and other officers, and  
 most shamefully abused, being dragged down  
 stairs, seized by the throat, set on a cowl staff,  
 from which they let him fall; then they dragged  
 him by the feet to the cage, pulling his hair  
 off his head, and tearing his clothes. After all  
 this ill usage, he was, by the mayor's order  
 whipped in the market place; then thrown  
 down backward into a wheelbarrow, carried in  
 that up a part of the street, and from thence  
 thrown into a dung cart, and so sent away  
 from tithing to tithing, and threatened, that if  
 he came again he should be whipped twice as  
 much, burned on the shoulder and banished the  
 land. At another time visiting a friend in his  
 sickness, he was taken before two justices, who,  
 because he declined to pull off his hat at their  
 command, sent him to prison, where he lay five  
 weeks.

This is another specimen of the unchristian  
 treatment, which this people received from those  
 hands, who, under pretence of the privileges of  
 the people being infringed by the former powers,  
 had taken up arms to redress their grievances.  
 The succeeding revolution of government in the  
 restoration of the monarchy exempted them  
 from these servile punishments of whipping and  
 passing them as vagrants, but exposed them to  
 great hardships in long and uncomfortable im-  
 prisonments, and spoiling of their outward sub-  
 stance.

This

This friend seems to have suffered severely under every government, by most or all the variety of penal laws contrived for the distressing of non-conformists. The fifth-monarchy men had no sooner made their insurrection, than he was taken up as he was travelling on horse-back and carried before the lieutenant of the county, who ordered him to be stripped and searched, sent away his mare, kept him on guard all night, and next day sent him to Winchester, where after four days confinement in the marshal's house, the oath of allegiance was tendered him by two justices, who, upon his refusing it, committed him to the county jail, where he lay above four months. In 1662 he was committed to prison at Horsham in Suffex, and at the next assizes indicted, tried immediately, and sentence of premunire was passed upon him in the usual manner, under which he was detained in prison ten years and upward. He was prosecuted in the Exchequer for tithes at the suit of Robert Pepys, priest of Gatton, who furiously threatened to kill him: Said Pepys prosecuted him, his wife and two of his servants in the Ecclesiastical court, and procured their excommunication for absence from the national worship. Ambrose Rigge was indicted at sessions for not going to hear common prayer, and was committed to prison, where he lay above a year. In 1683 he was prosecuted by the aforesaid Pepys on the statute of 20*l.* a month for eleven months absence from the national worship.

Having thus passed a life of religious labour in the service of God and man, whereby many were converted to righteousness; and endured persecution and affliction with remarkable faithfulness

CHAP.  
XIV.

1704.

3  
At Win-  
chester.

4  
At Hor-  
sham pre-  
munired,

5  
In the Ex-  
chequer.



CHAP. fulness and patience, whereby his peace was  
 XIV. encreased, in the time of his last sickness, he  
 ~~~~~  
 1704. looked forward towards his dissolution as the end
 of all his troubles, saying, *I am going where the
 weary are at rest*; and having been inured to
 patience in affliction, it deserted him not in
 this last trial of all. He bore his sickness with
 much patience and resignation to the Divine
 Will, and his love and esteem of the pure truth
 abode with him to the last, declaring a little
 before his departure, “ If friends kept to the
 “ root of life in themselves they would be the
 “ happiest people in the world.” He departed
 this life the 30th of 11^{mo}, 1704, aged seventy
 years or upward, and a minister forty-nine
 years.

He lived long enough to see with regret a
 declension in some professing the same principle
 of truth, in turning their attention more to the
 pursuit of great possessions in this world, to ag-
 grandize themselves and families, than to make
 their calling and election sure, whereby some
 meeting with disappointment in their aim, had
 deviated from that scrupulous regard to moral
 justice, which in the beginning had remarkably
 distinguished the members of this society; the
 deep and affecting concern of his mind drew
 from him the following epistle of advice to his
 friends :

“ Many days and months, yea, some years,
 “ hath my life been oppressed, and my spirit
 “ grieved, to see and hear of the *uneven* walking
 “ of many, who have a name to live, and pro-
 “ fess the knowledge of God in words, yea,
 “ and also of some who had tasted of the good
 “ word of God, and have been made partakers
 “ of

“ of the powers of the world to come, and have CHAP.
 “ received the heavenly gift and grace of God, XIV.
 “ *which teacheth all (who walk in it) to deny all* ~~~~~
 “ *ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly,* 1704.
 “ *honestly and righteously in this present world,*
 “ whose faithfulness (with great reason) hath
 “ been expected to God in things of the highest
 “ concern, and to have walked as lights in the
 “ world, and in all faithfulness both to God and
 “ man, to have stood as living monuments of
 “ the mercies of the Lord, letting their lights
 “ so shine before men, that they might see their
 “ good works, both in spiritual and temporal
 “ concerns; and so might have honoured and
 “ glorified God in their day and generation,
 “ and have convinced (or confounded) gain-
 “ sayers, putting to silence the ignorance of
 “ foolish men, whereby the worthy name of the
 “ Lord (by which they have been called), might
 “ have been renowned through the earth, and
 “ his precious truth and glory spread to the ends
 “ of it. that many through the beholding their
 “ good and exemplary conversation in Christ,
 “ (coupled with the holy fear of God) might
 “ have desired to lay hold of the skirt of a chris-
 “ tian indeed, *whose praise is not of men, but of*
 “ *God.*

“ These are the *fruits* which we have laboured
 “ and travelled for, through many and great
 “ tribulations, *that many might be turned to righte-*
 “ *ousness, and that the knowledge of the power*
 “ *and glory of the Lord might cover the earth,*
 “ *even as the waters do the sea.* This was (and
 “ is) our *only* end and design, which blessed be
 “ the Lord, many are witnesses of, and established
 “ in, to our abundant joy and comfort: But there
 “ are

CHAP. “ are some amongst us, who have not walked
 XIV. “ *humly* with the Lord, as he hath required,
 “ nor kept in that *low* estate, neither *inwardly*
 1704. “ nor *outwardly*, which becometh such who are
 “ travelling up to *Zion*, with their faces thither-
 “ ward, but have launched from the rock which
 “ is *firm* and *sure*, into the great sea of *troubles*
 “ and *uncertainty*, where *some* have been drown-
 “ ed, *others* hardly escaping, and *many* yet la-
 “ bouring for the shore, with little hopes of
 “ coming at it; who have not *only* brought
 “ themselves in danger of suffering shipwreck,
 “ but have drawn in *others*, and have endan-
 “ gered *them* also, which hath opened the
 “ mouths of the enemies of *Zion’s* welfare, to
 “ blaspheme his great and glorious name, and
 “ hath eclipsed the *lustre* of the *glorious sun* of
 “ righteousness, both in city and in country;
 “ this is a crying evil, and ought not to go
 “ unreprieved, and that with a *severe* counte-
 “ nance; for God is angry with it, and will
 “ assuredly punish it.

“ Many have got credit upon the account of
 “ truth, because at the beginning it *did*, and
 “ *doth* still lead all, who *were* and *are* faithful
 “ to it, to faithfulness and truth, even in the
 “ unrighteous *mammon*, and to let their *yea* be
 “ *yea*, and their *nay* be *nay*, even between man
 “ and man in outward things; so that many
 “ would have credited one that was called a
 “ *QUAKER* with much, and many I believe
 “ did meerly upon that account, some whereof,
 “ I doubt, have just cause to repent of it al-
 “ ready: but if truth and righteousness had
 “ been lived in by all who profess it, there had
 “ been no such occasion given: For they who
 “ still

“ still retain their integrity to the truth and life C H A P.
 “ of righteousness manifested, can live with a XIV.
 “ *cup of water, and a morsel of bread in a cot-*
 “ *tage,* before they can hazard other men’s 1704.
 “ estates to advance their own; such are not
 “ forward to borrow, nor to complain for want,
 “ for their eye and trust is to the Lord their
 “ preserver and upholder, and he hath con-
 “ tinued the *little meal in the barrel, and the oyl*
 “ *in the cruse bath not failed* to such, ’till God
 “ hath sent further help; this is certainly known
 “ to a remnant at this day, *who have coveted no*
 “ *man’s silver, gold or apparel, but have and do*
 “ *labour with their hands night and day, that the*
 “ *gospel may be without charge.*

“ It is so far below the nobility of *Christianity,*
 “ that it is short of common civility and honest so-
 “ ciety amongst men, to *twist* into men’s estates,
 “ and borrow upon the truth’s credit, (gained by
 “ the just and upright dealing of the faithful)
 “ more than they certainly know their own
 “ estates are like to answer; and with what they
 “ borrow reach after great things in the world,
 “ appearing to men to be what in the sight of
 “ God and *truth* they are not, seeking to com-
 “ pass great gain to themselves, whereby to
 “ make themselves or children rich or great in
 “ the world: This I testify for the Lord God,
 “ is deceit and hypocrisy, and will be blasted
 “ with the breath of his mouth, and we have
 “ seen it already.

“ And that estate, that is got either with the
 “ rending, or with the hazard of rending ano-
 “ ther man’s, is neither honestly got, nor can
 “ be blessed in the possession: For he that bor-
 “ rows money of another, if the money lent be
 “ either

CHAP. " either the lender's proper estate, or part of it,
 XIV. " or orphan's money that he is entrusted withal,
 1704. " or widow's, or some such, who would not let
 " it go but upon certain good security, and
 " to have the valuable consideration of its im-
 " provement; and the borrower, though he
 " hath little or no real or personal estate of his
 " own, but hath got some credit, either as he
 " is a professor of the truth, or otherwise, and
 " hath (it may be) a little house, and a small
 " trade, it may be enough to a low and con-
 " tented mind; but then the enemy gets in,
 " and works in his mind, and he begins to
 " think of an higher trade and a finer house,
 " and to live more at ease and pleasure in the
 " world, and then contrives how he may bor-
 " row of this and the other, and when accom-
 " plished according to his desire, then he begins
 " to undertake great things, and get into a
 " fine house, and gather rich furniture and
 " goods together, launching presently into the
 " strong torrent of a great trade, and then make
 " a great show, beyond what really he is, which
 " is dishonesty; and if he accomplish his in-
 " tended purpose, to raise himself in the world,
 " it is with the hazard (at least) of other men's
 " ruin, which is unjust: but if he falls short
 " of his expectation (as commonly such do)
 " then he doth not only ruin others, but himself
 " also, and brings a great reproach upon the
 " blessed truth he professeth, which is worse
 " than all; and this hath already been mani-
 " fested in a great measure, and by sad ex-
 " perience witnessed. But the honest, upright
 " heart and mind knows how to want, as well
 " as how to abound, having learned content
 " in

“ in all states and conditions; a small cottage CHAP.
 “ and a little trade is sufficient to that Mind, XIV.
 “ and it never wants what is sufficient: *For he*
 “ *that clothes the lilies, and feeds the ravens,* 1704.
 “ *cares for all who trust in him,* as it is at this
 “ day witnessed, praises to God on high; and
 “ that man hath no glory in (nor mind out after)
 “ *superfluous or needless, rich hangings, costly*
 “ *furniture, fine tables, great treats, curious beds,*
 “ *vessels of silver, or vessels of gold, the very pos-*
 “ *session of which creates envy,* as said the antient
 “ christian Clemens Alexandrinus. *Pædag. lib. 2.*
 “ *cap. 3. pag. 160, 161.*

“ The way to be rich and happy in this
 “ world, is first to learn righteousness; for such
 “ were never forsaken in any age, nor their seed
 “ begging their bread. And charge all parents
 “ of children, that they keep their children low
 “ and plain in meat, drink, apparel, and every
 “ thing else, and in due subjection to all just
 “ and reasonable commands, and let them not
 “ appear above the real estates of their parents,
 “ nor get up in pride and high things, though
 “ their parents have plentiful estates; for that
 “ is of dangerous consequence to their future
 “ happiness: And let all who profess the truth,
 “ both young and old, rich and poor, see that
 “ they walk according to the rule and discipline
 “ of the gospel, in all godly conversation and
 “ honesty, that none may suffer wrong by them
 “ in any matter or thing whatever; that as the
 “ Apostle exhorted, *they may owe nothing to any*
 “ *man, but to love one another; for love out of a*
 “ *pure heart is the fulfilling the law:* which law
 “ commands *to do justly to all men:* And he that
 “ hath but little, let him live according to that
 VOL. IV. C “ little,

CHAP. " little, and appear to be what in truth he is ;
 XIV. " for above all God abhors the hypocrite, and
 ~~~~~ " he that makes haste to be rich falls into *snare*s,  
 1704. " *temptations, and many noisome and hurtful lusts,*  
 1 Tim. vi. " *which drown many in perdition, and the love*  
 9. " *of money is the root of all evil, which while*  
 " *some have lusted after, they have erred from the*  
 " *faith, and compassed themselves about with*  
 verse 10. " *many sorrows.*

" For preventing this growing evil for the  
 " time to come, let such by faithful friends be  
 " exhorted, who either live without due care,  
 " spending above what they are able to pay for,  
 " or run into great trades, beyond what they  
 " can in honesty and truth manage, and let  
 " them be tenderly admonished of such their  
 " undertakings ; this will not offend the lowly  
 " upright mind ; neither will the honest-mind-  
 " ed, who through a temptation may be drawn  
 " into such a snare and danger, take any occa-  
 " sion to stumble, because his deeds are brought  
 " to the light. And if after mature deliberation,  
 " any are manifested to be run into any danger  
 " of falling, or pulling others down with them,  
 " let them be faithfully dealt withal *in time,*  
 " before the hope of recovery be lost, by honest,  
 " faithful friends, who are clear of such things  
 " themselves, and be admonished to pay what  
 " they have borrowed *faithfully and in due*  
 " *time,* and be content with their *own,* and to  
 " labour with their *own* hands in the thing that  
 " is honest, that they may have wherewith to  
 " give to him that needeth, knowing that *it is*  
 Acts xx. 35. " *more blessed to give than to receive.* And if  
 " they hear, and are thereby recovered, you  
 " will not count your labour lost ; but if they  
 " be

“ be high, and refuse admonition, it is a mani-CHAP.  
 “ fest sign *all is not well*: Let such be admonish- XIV.  
 “ ed again by more friends, and warned of the  
 “ danger before them; and if they still refuse 1404.  
 “ and reject counsel and admonition, then lay  
 “ it before the meeting (concerned about truth’s  
 “ affairs) to which they do belong, and if they  
 “ refuse to hear them, then let a testimony go  
 “ forth against such their proceedings and un-  
 “ dertakings, *as not being agreeable to the truth,*  
 “ *nor the testimony of a good conscience, neither in*  
 “ *the sight of God nor man*; this will be a terror  
 “ to evil-doers of this kind, and a praise, en-  
 “ couragement and refreshment to them who  
 “ do well, and nothing will be lost, that is  
 “ worth saving, by this care: for he that doth  
 “ truth, whether in spiritual or temporal mat-  
 “ ters, will willingly bring his deeds to light,  
 “ that they may be manifested to all, that they  
 “ are wrought in God.

“ These things lay weightily upon me, and I  
 “ may truly say, in the sight of God, *I writ*  
 “ *them in a great cross to my own will*, for I  
 “ delight not, nay, my soul is bowed down at  
 “ the occasion of writing such things; but there  
 “ is no remedy, the name of the Lord has  
 “ been, and is likely to be greatly dishonoured,  
 “ if things of this nature be not stopped, or  
 “ prevented for time to come: Therefore  
 “ I beseech you all, who have the weight and  
 “ sense of these things upon you, let some  
 “ speedy and effectual course be taken to pre-  
 “ vent what possibly we may, both in this and  
 “ all other things, that may any way cloud the  
 “ glory of that sun which is risen amongst us.  
 “ And make this public, and send it abroad to

- CHAP. " be read in *true* fear and reverence, and let  
 XIV. " all concerned be *faithfully* and plainly warned  
 { " (without respect of persons) by faithful friends,  
 1704. " who have the care of God's glory, and his  
 " church's peace and prosperity upon them:  
 " So will the majesty and glory of God shine  
 " upon your heads, and you shall be a good  
 " favour of life, both in them that are saved,  
 " and in them that are lost.

" *Written by one who longs to see righteousness*  
 " *exalted, and all deceit confounded.*

" *Gatten-place in Surrey, the 16th*  
 " *of the 11th month, 1678.*

" AMBROSE RIGGE."

CHAP.



## C H A P. XV.

*Account of John Blakeling.—Gilbert Latey.—Anne Camm.—Persecuting Act, entitled HERETICKS, passed in the Colony of Connecticut.—Repealed by the Queen and Council.*

JOHN BLAKELING of Draw-well in the parish of Sedbergh in Yorkshire, on the border of Westmoreland, was one amongst the earliest professors of the universality of the light of grace which came by Jesus Christ; himself, his wife, his father and mother being people in estimation with most or all who knew them, for their sobriety and religious conversation, were all convinced by the ministry of George Fox, when he first published his doctrine of the divine light in man in these parts, viz. in the third month 1652. About the beginning of the year 1655, John Blakeling appeared as a public minister of the same doctrine, and soon after travelled into the counties of Durham, Northumberland and Yorkshire. A few years after that he travelled into Scotland, visiting a great part of that nation, as also the northern counties of England in his way thither, and in his return. He likewise travelled through most of the counties of the nation at different times in the exercise of his ministry, wherein his labours were very serviceable and very acceptable to his friends, by whom he was greatly beloved and respected.

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1705.  
Account of  
John Blake-  
ling.

Being

CHAP. Being a man of primitive simplicity in his  
 XV. ministry, he was more attentive to minister under  
 ~~~~~ the influence of divine power and wisdom to  
 1705. reach and affect the heart with solid impressions,
 than to please the ear by elegance of speech;
 although his testimony was not eloquent, it was
 substantial in profound and important matter,
 suitable to the states of the auditory to which he
 ministered.

In the discipline of the society he was eminently serviceable, being endowed with clear discernment, sound judgment and a good understanding in spiritual subjects, as well as in temporal affairs, whereby he was well qualified to give his sentiments with pertinence to matters under deliberation; he was remarkably zealous for the promotion and maintaining of good order in the church, firm and steadfast in opposing and bearing testimony against contentious, disorderly and licentious spirits, against such as occasioned disrepute to the character of the society. It was at his house at * Draw-well, that the memorable meeting was held for the recovery of John Wilkinson, John Story and their adherents, as before recited.

His benevolence and charity to the deserving were no less remarkable, than his zeal for good order. A tender sympathizer with those in low circumstances, he frequently assisted them in their difficulties, to the hazard of losing thereby, and frequently had the satisfaction to see the good effects of this exertion of his benevolence, in being blessed with success for their effectual relief.

He

He had both the qualification and disposition CHAP.
 to prevent misunderstandings and promote peace, XV.
 being possessed of penetration, judgment and 1705.
 patience, with impartiality, to determine contro-
 versies and reconcile differences about temporal
 concerns; his reputation for justice and know-
 ledge in which, produced the general confidence
 of his friends and others, to devolve upon him
 various trusts for orphans, &c. which he trans-
 acted with unspotted integrity; so that his re-
 moval, even in an advanced age, was reputed
 a sensible loss, not only in the society of which
 he was a member, but in his neighbourhood
 also.

His unspotted reputation did not exempt him
 from the sufferings attendant on his profession;
 he was a considerable sufferer both in person
 and property. In the year 1661, this friend,
 in company with many more, was taken from
 a meeting at South Shields in the county of Dur-
 ham by Major Graham, then deputy governor
 of Tinmouth castle; they were cast into filthy
 holes there, where they lay a month, and then
 he turned them out, having so far as appeared
 to them, neither order, authority nor warrant
 for any part of his proceeding. In 1664 he
 was imprisoned in York castle, sixty miles
 from his habitation, being taken with about
 fifty more from a meeting at Thomas Taylor's
 in Sedbergh, and after being detained some time
 in the custody of the constable, they were order-
 ed by the justices to appear at the sessions about
 a week after, which they did; and John Blake-
 ling, with about twenty others, were from
 thence committed to the aforesaid castle. In
 the year 1683 he was prosecuted in the arch-
 deacon's

CHAP. deacons court at Richmond, and by a writ *de*
 XV. *excommunicato capiendo* committed again to York
 castle, where he was confined several years, as
 1705. appears by two petitions signed by him in com-
 pany with other prisoners, one to the King in
 1684, the other to the Members of parliament
 for the county in 1685. The following extract
 from the former exhibits a plain narrative of
 the ruinous and unfair modes of plunder adopted
 by ill-principled men against this inoffensive
 body of subjects for the vilest purposes :

“ Divers persons convicted, fined and dis-
 “ trained upon the statute of 20l. a month,
 “ were first presented and prosecuted upon the
 “ statute of 12d. a Sunday’s absence, and at
 “ the beginning of the sessions called upon the
 “ said presentment and prosecution ; yet during
 “ the sessions the prosecution was changed to
 “ 20l. a month, and the informers and bailiffs
 “ who were appointed to make the distresses, were
 “ so cruel, and so destitute of common huma-
 “ nity, that where there were not goods suf-
 “ ficient to gratify their avaricious desires, they
 “ have taken the very beds from under the
 “ sick, their working tools from tradesmen,
 “ and the entire property of all kinds from
 “ others, so that many families have been to-
 “ tally ruined, to the great grief of many sober
 “ people who had the opportunity of observing
 “ their cruel usage.

“ Since the prosecution of our friends for
 “ monthly absence began by *qui tams*, several
 “ of the worst sort of men, some who have
 “ wasted their own estates, take this method of
 “ repairing them by the spoil of honest people.
 “ Others who owe money upon bonds, being
 “ called

“ upon for payment, forthwith bring a *quit-tam*, and by this method discount and pay their debts, or else clap the just creditor in prison, to lie there unless the bond be given up.”

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In the year 1671 he was fined 20*l.* 10*s.* for a meeting at his house.

While of ability of body he was a good example, in a diligent attendance of religious meetings; but for some time before his death, he was prevented by the infirmities attendant upon advanced age, during which, he expressed *the comfort, which he enjoyed in the Lord's peace and presence with him in his old age, that his day's work was nigh done, and his reward and rest with God was sure.* He often signified his preparedness to leave the world, with fervent desires for truth's prosperity, and the preservation of unity and concord amongst brethren, in a faithful and steady testimony for the same in every part thereof.

He had a short sickness and an easy death, passing quietly out of this world without a sigh or a groan, in the eightieth year of his age, and was honourably interred at Friends burying place at Sedbergh, the fourth day of the 5th month, 1705.

Gilbert Latey, whom I have had repeated occasion to mention, for his frequent solicitations to government in favour of his friends under sufferings, died in the course of this year. He was born of honest parents in the parish called St. Issey in Cornwall, in 1626. His father was a reputable yeoman, his mother a gentlewoman of the principal family in the parish. Gilbert being

Account of
Gilbert
Latey.

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Put appren-
tice to a
taylor,

ing their youngest child, and his elder brothers being settled in business abroad, and in a prosperous way, he was desirous also to learn some trade; and being a promising youth, a person, a taylor by trade, was desirous of taking him as an apprentice, to whom he was bound accordingly, and served a severe apprenticeship with fidelity.

prospered
in his bu-
siness.

When the term of his apprenticeship was finished, he removed for improvement in his occupation, first to Plymouth, and afterwards to London, where he arrived in the 9th month, 1648. He was a man of a sober conversation, and sincerely religious, attaching himself to those pastors and teachers who were in the greatest estimation at that time, frequenting sermons with remarkable diligence, and exercising himself much in private prayer: His integrity of heart, seen by the all-inspecting eye, drew down the divine blessing on the labour of his hands, which prospered his undertakings in business: His religious regard to honesty procured him reputation, and his reputation procured him the employment and cordial regard of many persons of considerable rank and station in the world. But his outward prosperity did not satisfy the desire of his soul, which was to find peace with his maker: In search of this attainment he had resorted from one preacher to another, of those who were accounted the most refined, and most eminent for piety and religious experience, but in his searching without, he could not find what he wanted to obtain.

Convinced
by the mi-
nisty of
Edward
Burrough.

In the year 1654, he heard that some men out of the North were to have a meeting at the house

house of Sarah Mathews, widow, to which he went; these men were Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough; by the powerful and convincing ministry of the latter he was so effectually reached, that he yielded assent to his doctrine of the light of Christ in man; and not consulting with flesh and blood, he turned his attention to follow the leadings of the Holy Spirit, through the illumination whereof he attained a clear and discerning understanding, and a sound judgment, by which he was qualified to become a serviceable assistant, in these early times of the society, previous to the establishing of a regular discipline, to introduce and preserve order in the church in the city of London and places adjacent, as well as in settling and keeping up the meetings in those parts, being exemplary in attending and visiting them, from place to place, as his concern drew him; although frequently in great jeopardy, during the time of anarchy between Cromwell's death, and the restoration of King Charles, when the rude populace* were broken loose, and stimulated to rage and violence, and would frequently stone them going to, in, and coming from their religious meetings, to the shedding the blood and endangering the lives of many.

About this time I apprehend it was, that he met with a very close trial of his faith, comparative to the cutting off the right hand: He was still in a very prosperous way of business, in which he employed many journeymen to answer the calls of his employers, many of whom were persons of rank and fashion; but being by

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He declines
trimming
clothes with
superfluous
ornaments.

* See vol. i. p. 266, &c.

CHAP. the power of the cross of Christ induced to deny
 xv. himself of all superfluity and needless ornaments
 ~~~~~  
 1705. in his own apparel, in conformity to the plain-  
 ness of his profession, and the doctrine of  
 the apostles of Christ, which was against the  
 wearing of gold and silver and costly array :  
 The same principle of light and grace which had  
 instructed him to lay aside all superfluities in his  
 own person, instructed him further that he could  
 not keep up his testimony for the simplicity of the  
 gospel with clearness, while he was in the prac-  
 tice of furnishing to others those superfluities,  
 which he had, from conscientious conviction of  
 their tendency to nourish a vain mind, and their  
 inconsistency with christian gravity and humi-  
 lity, laid aside. In order to appease his con-  
 science, he was obliged to submit to the bitter-  
 ness of the cross, and endure the shame, by de-  
 clining to adorn any apparel with superfluous or-  
 naments of lace, ribbons and such like need-  
 less trimming, or suffering his servants to do it ;  
 which occasioned many to imagine he was going  
 beside himself. His customers left him ; his  
 trade declined ; he was obliged to dismiss his  
 journeymen for want of employment ; his out-  
 ward prospects were so discouraging that he did  
 not know but, that he might now be reduced to  
 the necessity of working in the capacity of a jour-  
 neyman himself, and of earning his bread by  
 his daily labour : Yet being thus strengthened  
 to prefer the testimony of a good conscience to  
 the acquisition of temporary treasure, and give  
 up all the flattering prospects of this world for  
 solid peace of mind, possessing his soul in pa-  
 tience, and submitting to be accounted a fool  
 for

for Christ's sake, he experienced the kindness of divine providence supporting him through his trials; so that as his outward discouragements abounded, his inward peace did much more abound; and having faithfully sought the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; all things necessary, for his accommodation in this life, were added to his full content.

And although he lost the employment of many of his customers of rank and quality, he did not lose their respectful esteem of his virtue and his integrity; this they retained with kindness, which gave him ready access to them, and others in authority and power; many of whom were pleased to favour him with their countenance and friendship on several occasions. His interest and acquaintance with persons of high rank and station he applied, not to his own emolument, but to the relief of his friends under suffering in person or property; deeply sympathizing with them in their various afflictions, he was always forward to use his solicitations for their ease, and frequently with signal success.

When intelligence was received in London of the imprisonment of Katharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, in the inquisition of Malta; Gilbert Latey (who in concert with George Fox was concerned for their release\*) applied himself with solicitude to find out some person, if possible, who had an interest or influence in those parts, and, after some time and pains spent in the enquiry, he received information, that one, called Lord D'Aubigny, who had come over with the Queen

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His solicitations for the release of Katharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers.

\* See vol. ii. p. 61.



CHAP. Queen Dowager, and was Lord Almoner to her,  
 XV. had both interest, power and authority in the  
 1705. island of Malta. Gilbert upon receiving this  
 intelligence, thought it his duty to wait upon this  
 Lord D'Aubigny, to request his interest and in-  
 tercession for their release, which he readily pro-  
 mised.

He was a priest in orders according to the  
 canons of the Romish church; yet no bigot,  
 but a man of a rational, liberal and generous  
 spirit; Gilbert, to satisfy his enquiry, gave him  
 some information of friends principles and doc-  
 trine, to which he answered to this purport,  
 "Some of our people think your friends are  
 "mad, but I entertain a very different opi-  
 "nion."

Lord D'Au-  
 bigny pro-  
 cures their  
 release.

Gilbert renewing his enquiry from time to  
 time, if Lord D'Aubigny had received any an-  
 swer to the letters he had promised to write to  
 Malta, at length received from him the accept-  
 able account that his friends were restored to  
 their liberty: And some time after they arrived  
 in England, and coming to London, paid Gil-  
 bert a visit; and after acknowledging his love  
 in his exertions for their release, they requested  
 him to introduce them to Lord D'Aubigny,  
 whom God had made the instrument of their en-  
 largement out of a severe bondage. He readily  
 complied with their request, and accompanied  
 them to their benefactor, to whom Gilbert, as  
 usual, found ready admittance; when introduc-  
 ing his companions, he said, these friends, who  
 have been partakers of thy kindness, are come  
 to pay their acknowledgments to thee for the  
 same; whereupon he asked, if they were the  
 women?

women? to which they replied they were; and after their grateful acknowledgment of his great favour and kindness, added, that were it in their power they would be as ready in all love to serve him: Upon which he replied, good women, for what service or kindness I have done you, all that I shall desire of you is, that when you pray to God, you will remember me in your prayers, and so they parted.

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Gilbert Latey was a party in most or all the solicitations to government for the ease of Friends in the different cases of severe suffering, through the reigns of King Charles, King James and King William, as hath been already recited; but it may not be impertinent briefly to mention two cases of application made by him, in company with his faithful colleague George Whitehead, which have not been noticed before. The first was the suffering case of several Friends in Norwich, under the cruelty of the sheriff and jailer, who, for attending their religious meetings, were imprisoned to the number of sixty-three persons, and very severely treated; ten of them being put into a deep dungeon, twenty-nine steps under ground; and several others into a hole amongst felons. An account of their grievous sufferings being sent to friends in London, and ineffectual endeavours used for their redress, being defeated by the misrepresentations of the sheriff; George Whitehead and Gilbert Latey resolved to wait upon the king in person, whom they met, with several nobles and attendants, when they delivered the king a petition from Friends of Norwich, and warmly solicited him in their favour: They had a pretty long conference

Concerned  
in most ap-  
plications to  
govern-  
ment.

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conference with him, and gave him pertinent answers to several enquiries he made in respect to the singular conduct of Friends in some cases; yet still keeping the cause of their application in view, repeatedly entreated him to compassionate the case of their suffering Friends in Norwich: In fine, the king being sensible that some of their treatment was not only cruel but illegal, assured them he would have it searched into, and consider their case. The assizes coming on soon after, the prisoners were called, to whom the judges behaved with remarkable moderation, and released them from their imprisonment, acting, as there was ground to suppose, according to the instructions they had from the king in consequence of this application.

The other case not before related was concerning the Park and Savoy meeting-houses; the case of the Park meeting-house was this:

Case of the  
Park and  
Savoy meet-  
ing houses.

About the month called May, 1685, the soldiers possessed themselves of this meeting-house, and converted part of it into a guard-house: Then, as if their forcible entrance had given them a right of possession, they made great waste upon the premises, pulling down pales, digging up and cutting down the trees, tearing down the waincots, and burning them and the benches, carrying away the outward door, and several of the casements. Afterward, when they were drawn out to the camp, they left the house open to any intrusion. John Potter, in whom the title was vested, re-entered, enclosed the outward door, and made other repairs, and had a survey taken of the damages, which were estimated at 40*l*.

The



The soldiers returning again from camp, a quarter-master belonging to Colonel Haile's regiment, came to the chambers of the said John Potter, and demanded entrance, which was refused: The quarter-master, assisted by soldiers, broke in, handed away the goods, turned out three aged women to another house, and made alterations in the meeting-house for their accommodation, as if they meant to keep perpetual possession. John Potter several times shewed the colonel his lease, and title to the place; but it availed nothing, he and his soldiers regarding neither law nor equity, kept possession, and still continued there.

Gilbert Latey and George Whitehead agreed to join in a solicitation to King James for redress of this grievance, and having gained admittance to his presence, represented to him the hardships Friends were under, by having their property wrested from them, both at the Park, and at the Savoy likewise, where Friends had been kept out in the cold yard in the winter many weeks by the guard. The King, who appears not to have been unconcerned in the matter, would needs have it, that these meeting-houses were forfeited to him by the conventicle act; but this they clearly disproved, and shewed so plainly the unreasonableness and illegality thereof, that within a few weeks, he caused both the meeting-houses to be restored, after the former was damaged, by computation to the amount of 150l.

But it was not only in these solicitations to the rulers, that the public spirit and brotherly sympathy of Gilbert Latey were excited to the service and relief of his friends; they were uni-

His care for  
the poor,  
&c.

CHAP. formally exerted in every case, which might demand his friendly assistance and attentive care, being one of those, who in early times had a tender concern for the poor, fatherless and widows; the sick and the imprisoned, to enquire into their necessities, and supply their wants; and when through persecution by imprisonment or distrains, casualties or disasters, the number greatly encreased; he was amongst the first to see the propriety and necessity of calling in grave and motherly women to their assistance, that so none under these descriptions might suffer for want of attention and care in any part of the city.

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In 1665, when the destructive pestilence broke out in the city of London, and the generality of citizens, who were able, were fleeing for their lives to the country, this friend had taken lodgings to retreat to the country also; but was prevented by the consideration, that many of his brethren were detained in several jails for the testimony of a good conscience, particularly in Newgate and the Gate-house in Westminster, in the midst of the contagion: For he could now feel no freedom to leave the city, and desert his friends under their multiplied calamities; he therefore kept his habitation, and according to his usual custom, visited those in prison; to comfort them in their distress; to take care that nothing might be wanting for their relief, support or enlargement, as far as in his power.

He visits his friends in prison and in their families during the plague.

And although his friends in prison in this calamitous season engaged his especial care, yet as the calamity was general, and not confined to prisons, neither were his sympathetic feelings; he

e was also diligently employed at this season CHAP.  
 n visiting Friends in their families, both where XV.  
 hey were laid up with the sickness, and where  
 hey were recovering, still under a concern that  
 othing should be wanting for their comfort or  
 pport. And the hearts of Friends being open-  
 d in brotherly sympathy with those, who were  
 fflicted with this epidemical distemper, money  
 as collected and sent up from the country to  
 e distributed, where needful; the care of this  
 istribution was committed to Gilbert Latey and  
 ne other friend, to divide amongst poor Friends  
 ho were lying ill of the contagion; but more  
 specially those who were shut up in their houses  
 n the out parishes. This trust they were care-  
 al to discharge with diligence and fidelity, en-  
 uiring out, and visiting those poor, who were  
 onfined to their own houses, and distributing to  
 heir necessities; and passing by none that they  
 ould hear of, through all which he was merci-  
 ully preserved in health, till the contagion was  
 uch abated, and the mortality was decreasing,  
 hen occasionally taking a cold, it brought on  
 he prevailing distemper; but the divine provi-  
 ence was over him for good, brought him  
 afely through the distemper, and restored him  
 o health again, to persevere in doing good in  
 is generation.

We are now to view him in another light, as Receives a  
 minister of the gospel. Soon after that close gift in the  
 rial of his faith, when in obedience to mani- ministry.  
 fested duty, he relinquished his worldly prospe-  
 ty, and declined to fit out the clothes he had  
 o make with superfluous trimming, he received  
 gift in the ministry, in which he also laboured



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faithfully, according to the ability received, and some were convinced, and many comforted, encouraged and strengthened in the way of righteousness and peace. His service in this line, as well as the former, was much restricted to the city of London, and the vicinity thereof, where he was zealously engaged, in the early times of the society to settle or keep up meetings in convenient places, as at Kingston, Hammer Smith, Westminster and other places; and was frequent in his visits thereto, as he found his mind drawn to one or another.

Visits his  
native coun-  
try.

Yet he paid two religious visits to his native country, the first in 1670, being a time of great persecution. He took the meetings of Friends in his way, Reading, Bristol, Bridgewater, South Moulton, so into Cornwall, having several good meetings on his journey thither, as well as in that county. At John Ellis's, near the Lands-end, he had a comfortable edifying meeting on the first day of the week, and next morning going to visit some Friends very near the Lands-end, he met a persecuting justice, who, as Gilbert was afterwards informed, was highly displeased that his accomplices had neglected to give him timely information, that he might have seized Gilbert's horse, and his man's, for that day's meeting.

Thence returning by Penzance and Market-jew, near this latter he had a meeting at a place where no friends were settled, to the great satisfaction of several present, who had never been at a friends meeting before. He proceeded to Helston and Falmouth, and had a meeting there; and from thence went back to Loveday Hambley's,

bley's, and had a good meeting there, and at several other places in that country.

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Leaving Cornwall he returned towards London by Plymouth, and having visited Friends there, he proceeded to King's-bridge, and contrary to his own and Friends' expectation had a peaceable good meeting; for Friends here were under grievous persecution; he therefore spent a little time amongst them, strengthening and tenderly sympathizing with them in their sufferings, and particularly with two young women who had not been long convinced, and were committed to prison by a warrant from justice Biere, (a passionate persecutor of this people) for not coming to church to hear divine worship. Gilbert from that fraternal sympathy, which on all needful occasions excited him to use his endeavours for the relief of his friends, resolved to renew them in behalf of these young women, and having an acquaintance with some who were in the lieutenancy, and men of authority in the commission of the peace, he came to Exeter, and having visited Friends there, proceeded to the house of a knight of great influence in the county, to whom he found ready access, and who expressed himself glad to see him in those parts: Gilbert let him know the occasion of his visit, and so warmly solicited his favour to his suffering friends, and these two young women in particular, that the knight at last replied, he would do more for him than any other of his friends, and having by his application brought the knight to that favourable disposition, which gave him reason to hope he had obtained the end of his visit, he took his leave of him

CHAP. him and his family, with acknowledgments of  
 XV. his kindness; and after his return, received an  
 1705. account that this knight, mindful of the expectations given him, had procured the liberty of these young women.

He had now received letters from London, informing him of the persecution, which affected Friends there in person and property; of the demolition of the meeting-houses at Horsly-down and Ratcliff; and that Wheeler-street meeting-house was threatened, the title of which was vested in him; he therefore hastened back to London with what expedition he could, with clearness as to his present service, and when arrived took the measures already related \*, to secure that meeting-house from similar depredation.

His second journey was in the year 1679, into the same quarter, visiting his friends, and appointing or holding meetings with them to mutual edification in his going and returning, viz. at Reading, Bath, Bristol, through Somersetshire, the North of Devonshire to Falmouth in Cornwall, returning by the South side of Devonshire. As it seemed to be Gilbert's peculiar province to keep up a friendly intercourse with, and an open door of access to such persons of authority or influence as had been, or might be disposed to apply them to the relief of Friends. And Lamplugh then Bishop of Exeter, having granted him several favours, in respect to Friends under sufferings in his diocese; and upon a solicitous enquiry now as he passed along, finding the moderation

He pays a  
 visit to the  
 Bishop of  
 Exeter.

\* See vol. ii. p. 353.



moderation and tenderness both of himself and CHAP. the officers of his court, under his influence, to have been extended to friends in a general way, he thought it his place to pay him a visit, to acknowledge his extraordinary kindness to his Friends. The Bishop received him with remarkable civility and affectionate regard; their conversation was expressive of sincere friendship and mutual benevolence, which being ended, Gilbert took his leave with expressing the grateful acknowledgments he proposed by this visit.

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This Friend, although a resident in London through all the heat of persecution, and although exemplarily diligent in attending meetings in their public meeting-houses, while they were permitted to meet in them, and in the streets in all weathers, when they were not; escaped sufferings and imprisonment beyond most of his brethren of that time; most of his sufferings appear to have befallen him previous to the restoration; feeling a concern, with many of his Friends of this age, to go to several of the places of public worship, to bear witness to the truth and against error. Amongst other places, he went one day to Dunstan's in the West, at which ——— Manton preached on this subject, *who might of right call God father*, on which he enlarged first, that they who were born of God, were his through regeneration, and had a just right to call God father. To this doctrine Gilbert attended with patience and assent; but afterwards proceeded to enquire concerning those who were not born of God, he alledged they were the Lord's by generation; and then in answer to this question, whether they must not call

His sufferings inconsiderable in comparison.

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call God father, replied, That they must also pray to God as their father, and to prove his assertion, said, though Absalom was a wicked son, yet David was his father. After he had ended his sermon, Gilbert warned the audience to take heed of their ways, adding, that while people are workers of iniquity, according to the doctrine of our blessed Lord, they are *of their father the devil: and while they regard iniquity in their hearts the Lord will not bear their prayers.* The people were immediately all in a ferment, the constable was called for, who with others haled him out of their place of worship, and took him before a justice, where he pleaded his cause so well, that the justice asking the constable if what he said was true, and if that was the whole matter; the constable answering in the affirmative, the justice observed that he had heard those people called Quakers were a sort of mad whimsical folks; but for this man he talks very rationally, and for my part I think you need not have brought him before me; to which the constable replied, Sir, I think so too. The constable and Gilbert retiring, the former left him at liberty to go whither he pleased.

Imprisoned  
in the gate-  
house, West-  
minster.

He also suffered imprisonment, together with about fifteen or sixteen of his friends, in the Gate-house in Westminster, for meeting together to worship God: They were all put into a little dungeon, which was about ten feet in breadth, and eleven in length, and so dark, that they could see no more by day than by night; the walls were wet, and they being crouded into so narrow a compass, had room only to lie down by turns; so that while some lay down to rest, others

others were forced to stand: Beside this the keeper was so cruel as to command the turnkey not to let a little straw be brought in for them to lie upon; but the Lord was with them to support them through all the trials of their faith and patience; and in his own time delivered them from their sufferings.

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1705.

During the reign of King Charles I cannot discover that he was ever imprisoned, notwithstanding the frequent persecutions that raged without restraint. Being a great supporter and frequent attender of the meeting at Hammer-smith, in the year 1671, having occasion in the way of his trade to wait upon Lady Sawkell; Sir William Sawkell her husband, who had a command in a regiment of horse, came into the room; he had a friendly respect for Gilbert, and was often pretty familiar with him; and now asked him what meeting he frequented, who answered sometime one meeting and sometime another. The reason is, said Sir William, because I have orders to break up a meeting of your people at Hammer-smith next Sunday, from so high a hand, that I cannot avoid executing them; and therefore, I inform you, that if at any time you go thither, you may refrain coming on that day. Gilbert notwithstanding, believing it his duty to attend Hammer-smith meeting, let Sir William know it before they parted. The day came, Gilbert, not reasoning with flesh and blood, attended the meeting, in which he was much favoured, and as he was preaching, the troopers came, and stood for some time to hear his testimony, till one of the ruder sort, cried out this man will never have done, let

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1705.

let us pull him down, and accordingly laid hands on him. Gilbert sent word to the commanding officer; who coming in, said, Latey, did not I tell you that I was commanded to be here to day? Yes, replied Gilbert, and did not I tell thee I was commanded by a greater than thou, to be here also? Upon this, said Sir William, go get thee gone about thy business, and I will take care of the rest who are met here; Gilbert desired him, if he had any respect for him to discharge the rest, and let him be his prisoner. After some time the rest were set at liberty, and Gilbert taken before Lord Mordaunt and Sir James Smith; the troopers were called in evidence, and Gilbert made his defence so reasonably and discreetly, that it seemed to make an impression upon them, yet they fined him and the house, and distrained some Friends for the fines. Gilbert got access to the justices again, and shewed them the unreasonableness of that severe law, which made one man suffer for the offence of another; that if he had transgressed any law, the Lord had blessed him with a sufficiency, to enable them to reclaim the penalty from his effects, and requested that his friends might not suffer for any thing by him said or done; through his repeated applications, and the interest and influence of others, their equals and acquaintance, he procured the goods distrained to be restored; and had the satisfaction to see the sufferings designed to the Friends of that meeting, through divine goodness, and his solicitous endeavours, prevented.

In his more private transactions in religious society, he was a lover and promoter of unity  
and



and concord; very zealous against deceit and hypocrisy, the fomenting of divisions and schisms; but remarkably tender towards those who appeared sincere and humble, although weak and young in experience, and always ready to lend a hand of help to such: He had ever an honourable esteem for the elders, who were in Christ before him; and it was his great rejoicing to see the younger members treading in their steps; and when any of these were raised up in the ministry, as they kept to that power, which made their predecessors burning and shining lights in their day, his rejoicing was encreased; these he encouraged with affectionate sympathy.

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In his own family he was an exemplary pattern of conjugal affection, and paternal care, being often solicitously concerned to admonish and instruct his children to live in the fear of their creator, that they might thereby be preserved from evil.

As age advanced, and subjected him to the attendant infirmities of body, his mental faculties and religious feelings preserved their usual vigour and liveliness. His last public appearance in the ministry was in a meeting at Hammer-smith; he was so raised up in his gift, and so supported by divine power, that with great authority and clearness, he delivered sound and weighty doctrine for near an hour, with fervency and his accustomed zeal, as if he had been under no infirmity of body, to the admiration of many of the auditory.

Towards the latter part of his time he delighted much to be retired, and dwelt mostly in the country:

CHAP. country: And having served God and man in  
 XV. his generation, the review of his life filled him  
 with consolation in his retreat, having been often  
 1705. heard to say, *that he had done the work of his  
 day faithfully, and was now sat down in the will  
 of God, and his peace he felt abounding towards  
 him; that he waited the Lord's call and time of  
 being removed, and that there was no cloud in his  
 way.* He was also in the time of his confine-  
 ment, so strengthened in his spirit, and his love  
 to his brethren, that he gave them much good  
 counsel, when they came to see him, with as  
 much energy and liveliness, as if he was in his  
 health and strength: A very few hours before his  
 departure, he said to those about him, *There is  
 no condemnation to them, that are in Christ Jesus;  
 he is the lifter up of my head, he is my strength  
 and great salvation:* In this frame of mind he  
 breathed his last, the 15th day of the 9th  
 month, 1705, in the seventy-ninth year of his  
 age.

Account of  
 Anne  
 Camm.

This year Anne Camm, late wife of Thomas  
 Camm, a woman eminent in her day for the ex-  
 cellency of her qualifications, and her service in  
 society, died in an advanced age. She was the  
 daughter of Richard Newby, of the parish of  
 Kendal in Westmorland, of a family of repute;  
 her parents gave her a good education, proper  
 for her sex, and about the 13th year of her age  
 sent her up to her aunt in London for her fur-  
 ther improvement, with whom she resided seven  
 years; and being favoured with religious incli-  
 nations from her early youth, she formed her  
 acquaintance and connexion with the Puritans,  
 from her apprehension of their being the most  
 strictly

strictly religious sect. And upon her return to Kendal, seeking still to associate herself with the most serious professors of religion, she joined a body of people, who frequently met in a select society, sometimes sitting in silence, sometimes holding religious conferences, and often exercised in fervent prayer. About the year 1650 she was married to John Audland, and was convinced at the same time with him by the ministry of George Fox, early in the year 1652; and in the course of the succeeding year they both appeared in the ministry, to the edification of their friends and convincement of many others; for she was in all respects a most agreeable helpmeet to her valuable husband, endeared to him by a similarity of disposition, qualifications and pursuits, feelingly described by her in her testimony concerning him\*.

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Convinced  
at the same  
time with  
her husband  
John Aud-  
land.

Her first journey in the work of the ministry was into the county of Durham. At Aukland, for preaching to the people on the market day she was imprisoned in the town jail; but a prison could not confine the freedom of her spirit, or the charitable concern of her mind for propagating religious truths and religious thoughtfulness amongst the people assembled there. Under the influence of gospel love, and in the authority of the gospel, she continued her ministry from the window of the prison, whereby many were solidly affected, and confessed to the truth she published. She was discharged from her confinement the evening of the same day. John Langstaff, a man of great repute in his neighbourhood,

She is im-  
prisoned at  
Aukland,  
but soon  
released.

\* See vol. ii. p. 88.

CHAP. <sup>XV.</sup>  
 1705. bourhood, was so affected by her ministry, that he voluntarily accompanied her in her imprisonment, and upon her release, took her home with him, in order to entertain her there. But his wife, offended at her husband's conduct and apparent change, received him and his guest with language, which plainly discovered her dissatisfaction with them both; this treatment made Anne quite uneasy to take up her lodging under a roof, where she found she was no welcome guest to one head of the house; she therefore walked out into the fields, to seek some covert, to take such lodging, as she could find there. But it was providentially ordered that Anthony Pearson, of Rampshaw, hearing by George Fox, who was then at his house, of her being in that town, came with a horse, and took her behind him to his house that night. She continued her travels in those parts some time longer, in the exercise of her ministry, to the spiritual advantage of many, and when she apprehended her service accomplished, returned home.

In the succeeding winter she travelled Southward through Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and so forward into Oxfordshire, accompanied by Mabel Camm, wife of John Camm. At Banbury, Mabel apprehended a call of duty to go to the place of public worship, to speak to the priest and people; and Anne accompanied her. The people dragged them out of the house in a rude and violent manner, and abused them in the yard: The priest passing by, Anne Audland called to him, saying, "*Behold the fruits of thy ministry.*" Next day they were summoned before the mayor, where two witnesses



nesses were procured to swear that Anne had spoken blasphemy; and upon their information she was committed to prison, and her companion dismissed. Some days after, two inhabitants of the town gave bond for her appearance at the next assizes, which furnished her with several opportunities of religious meetings with the people of that town and neighbourhood, in which she was so favoured with power and wisdom in the exercise of her ministry, that it proved effectual to convince her two bondsmen, and numbers more, of the truths she preached to them, whereby they were induced to join in society with her and her brethren, and in an inward attention to the grace of God which brings salvation, which she bore testimony of, and recommended them unto. The establishment of a large meeting in that town, and several other meetings in the country adjacent, were the fruits of her ministry; and to her friends here she cherished the most affectionate regard to the last. Her successful labour provoked the resentment of the adversaries of the society to that degree, that they threatened she should be burnt when the assizes came. Her enemies being numerous, powerful and much exasperated against her, several of her friends thought it their duty to attend the assizes, to strengthen her by their sympathy, countenance and assistance, in maintaining her cause and the cause of truth.

Her husband John Audland, John Camm, Thomas Camm, with some friends from London and Bristol, encouraged her by their presence at her trial. The charge or indictment of blasphemy was this, that she said *God did not live*; which

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Is tried for  
blasphemy,

C H A P.

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and  
brought  
in guilty of  
a misde-  
meanour.

which charge was founded on a perversion of a remark she made concerning the priest of Banbury, *That true words might be a lie in the mouth of some that spoke them*: In proof and explanation whereof she brought the expression of the prophet Jeremiah, chap. v. 2. *though they say the Lord liveth, surely they swear falsely*. Her prudent demeanour, her judicious remarks, her innocent boldness, tempered with becoming modesty, and her pertinent and wise answers to his questions inclined the judge to moderation and sentiments in her favour; and perceiving the incompetence of the evidence, that the matter of fact did not come up to the charge, he expounded her case to the jury thus, *that she acknowledged the Lord her God and redeemer to live, and that there were Gods of the Heathen that were dead Gods*. Some of the justices hereby perceiving their wishes and intentions to be frustrated, stepped from the bench to influence and bias the jury to bring in some verdict whereby their credit might be saved, who brought in their verdict, *guilty of misdemeanour only*, which occasioned one of her friends to observe, that, “ it was “ illegal to indict her for one fact, and bring “ her in guilty of another; for they ought to “ have found *her guilty or not guilty*, upon the “ matter of fact charged in the indictment.” The judge then told her, if she would give bond for her good behaviour she might have her liberty; this she refused, for the like reason as her brethren generally did. Her prosecutors, ashamed of their proceedings, slipped off the bench one after another in confusion; and the judge, although in the trial he behaved with candour, and

and confessed she should have been discharged; yet to gratify the disappointed and angry justices, returned her to prison upon her refusal to give bond.

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1705.

Being now left in the power of these persecuting magistrates, she was put into a noisome filthy dungeon, several steps below the ground, on one side whereof ran a common sewer, which was often very offensive by its smell, and admitted disagreeable vermin, and there was no fire to qualify the damps.

She is put  
into a fil-  
thy dun-  
geon.

Jane Waugh, also a minister of this society, from the pure motive of friendship, affection and sympathy with her imprisoned friend, came many miles to visit her there, and was rewarded for this christian-like office of love, with a participation of her suffering, being for this cause only, imprisoned with her. Here they enjoyed great content, in the consciousness of suffering in a good cause. In great peace she continued seven or eight months in this noisome dungeon, and at length was released by the Mayor and Aldermen, and her companion shortly after at her solicitation.

J. Waugh  
imprisoned  
with her.

At her release, being clear of those parts, she travelled through the country to Bristol, where she met with her husband John Audland, whom I apprehend she accompanied, and joined in service, to their habitation in Westmorland. The reader may recollect the reflections suggested by the contemplation of this amiable couple in the account of her husband's decease, which it is therefore superfluous to repeat. They were both engaged in frequent travels for the purpose of promoting religion and righteousness, in

C H A P.

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1705.

She is married a second time to Thomas Camm.

most parts of the nation, as far as I can collect, some times unitedly, and some times separately, until her husband was disabled by that indisposition, which terminated in his death in the year 1663.

She continued a widow between two and three years, and in the 3<sup>mo</sup>. 1666, was married to Thomas Camm, son of John Camm, her former husband's faithful companion. This her second husband was also a man, experienced in religion, and a minister of eminence in the society of his friends. Their union being centered in religion and the fear and united service of their maker, they lived together in the utmost harmony and nearness of affection forty years, within a few months. An union on this certain foundation of happiness, naturally revives the recollection of the comprehensive description which the Evangelist [Luke] hath left on record, of a religious pair of that age: *They were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandments of the Lord blameless.* And here I feel an inclination to lay before my young friends, as I trust this may fall into many of their hands, the wise and solid maxims, which were adopted by our faithful predecessors for the rule of their conduct in this very important engagement of marriage, as that on which not only our peace and happiness in this life very much depends; but that whereby our efforts in the pursuit of future happiness may frequently be very materially promoted or obstructed. It was a maxim with them, as firmly believed as the most self-evident truth, that the only sure foundation of happiness was laid in religion, and therefore their

Reflections on marriage.



their advice and their practice was, to seek for divine counsel and approbation, in every step towards forming this indissoluble connection, and to proceed circumspectly in the fear of their creator. Both male and female, having their eye principally to an everlasting inheritance, incorruptible, and that fadeth not away, were exceedingly circumspect in their stepping, that their growth in pure religion might not be retarded thereby; the former, by fervent prayers, seeking to the Almighty to be rightly directed in his choice; and the latter, receiving the proposal with cautious reserve, pondered it in her heart, and also besought the same divine being to direct her in her determination. Marriage thus determined in religious fear, and on religious considerations, in the divine counsel, is doubtless ratified in heaven, and draws down a blessing upon the parties thus uniting themselves in one holy disposition, and one determined resolution to promote their own, and each others spiritual and temporal advantage. This pure religion proves a foundation of uninterrupted harmony between themselves, and a stay and a staff in the vicissitudes of this life, to which all are liable; in prosperous circumstances a stay to the mind, when riches encrease, not to set their hearts thereupon, nor to consume them on their lusts, after the manner of this world; but to let their moderation appear, knowing the Lord is at hand, as stewards only of the good things they possess, and accountable to the Lord of the universe, whose the earth is and the fulness thereof; the natural benevolence of their souls, refined by religion into christian charity, teacheth them to

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1705.

sympathize with, and feel deeply for the poor and needy, and to communicate freely to their wants; in adversity and the various trials they are exposed to, they ever find it a staff to lean upon, sufficiently able to support them, and bring them safely through all their afflictions and besetments, and in the end find all things work together for their good, because they fear and serve the Lord.

This worthy woman, Anne Camm, proved this truth, for she bore her share of the sufferings of this trying day, steadfast in her faith in divine support, in which she found ability to sustain them with patient resignation and religious fortitude. She was tried with repeated separations from her second husband, as well as the former, by a succession of tedious and close imprisonments. He was imprisoned particularly at Kendal for the space of three years, where his confinement was so close that he was not permitted to see his family during that time: Again at Appleby, near six years; and in all his sufferings and services she participated with him as a faithful helpmeet; in the former sympathizing with, and strengthening him in his suffering for the testimony of a good conscience, supplying his place during his confinement, and without doubt exerting her care to keep their outward concerns in the best order in her power, for she appears to have been a very virtuous and discreet woman. And in his religious labours and services, she was not only free to give him up and encourage him to faithfulness, but often a powerful fellow labourer in the gospel along with him, for they travelled together several journeys as companions in the work

work of the ministry, in sundry parts of the nation, and particularly to London and Bristol oftner than once, at the latter of which she was seized with an indisposition, which appeared to threaten her dissolution; but was raised above the fear of death, and preserved in a lively frame of spirit, wherein her expressions were so weighty and affecting, as to leave a lasting impression on the minds of several of the auditors, warning all to prize their time, and prepare for their latter end, as God had inclined her to do, whereby she enjoyed unspeakable peace here, with full assurance of eternal rest and felicity in the world to come, which, said she, I have desired to enter into, as gain, rather than live, if God so please. But the period of her zealous labours for the promoting of righteousness was not by divine wisdom assigned her at this time; she recovered her health and strength, to be of great service in society, for a length of time.

Although she was in honourable esteem, as she deserved, for her accomplishments, her virtues and her public services, she was preserved in humility, not affecting to do her works to be seen of men, but frequently retired alone into her closet or other private place, in fervent prayer to seek the approbation of her maker, and the fresh discovery of his will concerning her; or set apart an hour for perusing the holy scriptures, and other pious writings for her edification. And though qualified above many with an excellent gift in the ministry, she was by no means forward to appear in preaching or prayer in public meetings; but when she did, it was with the demonstration

CHAP. monstration of the spirit and with power, to the  
 XV. refreshment of the church: And especially in  
 large meetings, where she knew there were brethren well qualified for the service of such meetings, she rarely appeared as a public minister without an extraordinary impulse, for she was endued with wisdom and a sound understanding, to know the season of her service, when to speak and when to be silent, in which she was a good example to her sex; and when any of them were too hasty or unseasonable in their public appearances in such meetings, being a woman of sound judgment, and disapproving thereof, she frequently found it her concern to hint an admonition to such, in the authority of the gospel, and in the meekness of wisdom, which generally had a good effect.

1705.

Her last public appearance in the ministry, was at a monthly meeting at Kendal the 2d of 9<sup>mo</sup>, 1705, at which time, though far advanced in years, and affected with the bodily infirmity attendant on old age, the liveliness of her zeal and her spiritual abilities maintained their vigour even to admiration. In this her farewell sermon, with affecting energy, she closely pressed her friends to faithfulness and diligence in the service of the Lord, that they might receive their reward with those who had nearly served out their day.

The next day she was seized with that distemper which terminated her labours, and her end was such as naturally resulted from a well spent life; full of peace, she resigned her soul to him who gave it, in humble expectation of reaping the fruit of her labours, the sentence of approbation—*Well done, good and faithful servant*, as manifestly



festly appeared by her expressions on her death-bed. Her husband, who knew best her worth, impressed with a deep sense of sorrow, and discovering the natural regret at the prospect of being deprived of so valuable a companion, she nobly encouraged to resignation in the following address. " My dear, if it be God's good pleasure, who joined us together, and hath blessed us hitherto, to separate us outwardly, I entreat thee to be content therewith, and give me up freely to the Lord, for thou knowest we must part; and if I go first, it is but what I have desired of the Lord many a time; and I believe the consideration of the desolate condition I should be in, if left behind thee, will have that place in thee, that thou wilt the more freely commit me to the Lord, whose I am, and whom I loved, feared and served with an upright heart all my days: His unspeakable peace I enjoy, and his saving health is my portion for ever. I pray thee be content with what the Lord pleaseth to do with me, whether life or death, his holy will be done." And when she drew near her end, about ten days before she died, she imparted profitable counsel to her grandchildren and servants; and renewed her request to her husband to give her up freely, adding, " If it be the time of our parting, as I think it will, I pray thee quit thyself of the things of this world, as much as possible, that thou mayst with the more freedom pursue thy honourable service for truth to the end of thy days—and warn all, but especially the rich, to keep low, and not to be high-minded, for *humility* and *holiness* are the badges of our profession."

CHAP. "fession." Her distemper increased upon her  
 XV. near a month before her change came, during  
 1705. all which time, her weighty counsel, her edifying remarks, and perfect resignation of mind clearly evinced she was well prepared for her final change, which happened on the 30th of 9<sup>mo</sup>, 1705, and the attendance of her funeral was an evidence of the universal estimation of her virtues and her services, her corpse being accompanied to the grave by friends from 13 different meetings.

The persecution of the Quakers in New-England had subsided in a great degree, since the removal of the principal persecutors by death, and a train of succeeding occurrences of a very serious and interesting nature, which necessarily drew off their attention, to provide against more imminent dangers, and more certain evils. The Indian wars, the loss of their charter and their power; their succeeding political contests amongst themselves; and after their Charter was renewed by King William, their general infatuations in the business of witchcraft, had given them sufficient employment; whereby this peaceable body of people obtained a respite of their sufferings, till the Act of Toleration set them at liberty to enjoy that peace they desired. But no sooner had the state recovered from its commotions, and returned to a settlement, than the colony of Connecticut first discovered a propensity, notwithstanding the toleration, to revive the former oppressive measures against this society, by passing an act entitled *Heretics*, in relation whereto, application being made to the Queen and Counsel, it produced the following order, by which the purport of  
 this

A persecuting Act, entitled *Heretics*, passed in the colony of Connecticut.

this act will appear of a nature similar to their C H A P.  
former persecuting acts. XV.

“ At the Court of Kensington, the 11th day of 1705.  
“ October, 1705,

## P R E S E N T,

“ His Royal Highness Prince George of  
“ Denmark,  
“ Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,  
“ Lord Keeper,  
“ Lord Treasurer,  
“ Lord President,  
“ Duke of Somerset,  
“ Duke of Ormond,  
“ Earl of Ranelagh,  
“ Mr. Boyle,  
“ Mr. Secretary Hedges,  
“ Mr. Secretary Harley,  
“ Lord Chief Justice Holt,  
“ Lord Chief Justice Trevor,  
“ Mr. Vernon,  
“ Mr. Earle.

“ A representation from the lords commission-  
“ ers of trade and plantations, being this day  
“ read at the board, upon an act passed in her  
“ Majesty's colony of Connecticut, entitled only  
“ *Heretics*, whereby it is enacted, that all who  
“ shall entertain any Quakers, Ranters, Ada-  
“ mites, and other Heretics, are made liable to  
“ the penalty of five pounds, and five pounds  
“ per week for any town that shall so entertain  
“ them; That all Quakers shall be committed  
“ to prison, or be sent out of the colony;  
“ That

CHAP. " That whoever shall hold unnecessary discourse  
 xv. " with Quakers, shall forfeit twenty shillings ;  
 ~~~~~  
 1705. " That whoever shall keep any Quakers books,
 " (the governor, magistrates, and elders except-
 " ed) shall forfeit ten shillings, and that all such
 " books shall be suppressed ; That no master of
 " any vessel do land any Quaker without carrying
 " them away again, under the penalty of twenty
 " pounds.

" And the said lords commissioners, humbly
 " offering, that the said act be repealed by her
 " majesty, it being contrary to the liberty of
 " conscience indulged to dissenters by the laws
 " of England ; as also to the charter granted to
 " that colony,

" Her Majesty, with the advice of her privy
 " council, is pleased to declare her disallow-
 " ance and disapprobation of the said act ; and
 " pursuant to her majesty's royal pleasure there-
 " upon, the said act passed in her majesty's colo-
 " ny of Connecticut in New-England, entitled
 " *Heretics*, is hereby repealed, and declared null
 " and void, and of none effect."

In gratitude for this repeal, friends in London
 thought it their duty to present an address to the
 Queen, which address, with her answer, are as fol-
 loweth :

" May it please the QUEEN,

1706.

" WE thy protestant dissenting subjects, com-
 " monly called Quakers, in London, having
 " lately been the Queen's humble petitioners on
 " the behalf of our friends in New-England,
 " against a law made in Connecticut colony for
 " their suppression, which law the Queen has
 " been

“ been graciously pleased to disallow and make void,
 “ CHAP. XV.

“ We now find ourselves engaged in duty and
 “ gratitude to make the just returns of our thank- 1705.
 “ ful acknowledgments to the Queen, for this
 “ eminent instance of inviolably maintaining
 “ the toleration; and do therefore humbly crave
 “ leave, on this occasion, to repeat the sincere
 “ assurance of our christian and peaceable subjec-
 “ tion and unfeigned joy for the Queen’s mild
 “ and gentle government, aiming at the good
 “ of all *her* people.

“ May the blessing of the Almighty so prof-
 “ per and accomplish the Queen’s just desires of
 “ union among her subjects, of firm peace in
 “ Europe, and of the increase of virtue, that in
 “ the delightful fruition thereof, the Queen may
 “ enjoy many days, and after a life of comfort,
 “ be translated to a glorious immortality. Signed
 “ on behalf of the said people by

“ JOHN FIELD,

“ JOSEPH WYETH.”

The QUEEN’S Answer.

“ LET the gentlemen know I thank them
 “ heartily for this address, and that while they
 “ continue so good subjects, they need not doubt
 “ of my protection.”

The repealing of this act put a final period to
 the persecuting of Quakers in New-England:
 And

CHAP. And as the rigorous measures pursued against
XV. them at their first appearance in that colony, and
~~~~~  
1705. for a series of years after, may appear to have  
been treated with some severity of animadversion  
(as they deserved), it is but justice to observe,  
that the descendants of these colonists, perceiving  
the enormous mistakes of their predecessors, have  
adopted more liberal and humane maxims of  
conduct; so that for several years past this body  
of people have been treated with lenity, and  
have been in some respects more easy in the  
New-England provinces than in most others,  
Pennsylvania and Jersey excepted; particular-  
ly in an entire exemption from any contri-  
bution to the support of the established mi-  
nistry.

## C H A P. XVI.

*Address to Queen Anne on the Prevention of a Rebellion.—Account of Thomas Camm.—His sufferings.—His Death and Character.—Second Address to the Queen on declaring her Resolution to maintain the Toleration.—Account of John Banks.—Account of William Crouch.*

THE incorporation of England and Scotland C H A P.  
into one kingdom, which was a favourite mea- XVI.  
sure with James the First; and had also engaged 1707.  
the attention of King William, but which neither  
of them could get effected, was brought about  
this year, under the title of The Kingdom of Great  
Britain. The Scotch nation in general being  
quite averse to this union, it created great dis-  
contents among all the classes of the people.  
Lewis XIV. king of France, being at this time  
unable to cope with his confederated enemies in  
the Netherlands, of which the English were  
amongst the most formidable, looked upon this  
disaffection of Scotland to the English govern-  
ment, to present a favourable opportunity to di-  
vide the allied forces, by giving employment to  
the British arms at home. With this view, he  
made great preparations to support the Preten-  
der, in an invasion of England, at the head  
of the Scotch malecontents; but the vigi-  
lance of the British government was the means  
of

An attempt  
in favour of  
the Preten-  
der. frus-  
trated.

CHAP. of defeating his design. Addresses of allegiance  
 XVI. or congratulation having been sent up to the  
 Queen from different parts upon this occasion,  
 1708. the people called Quakers thought it expedient,  
 from their yearly meeting, to present the following  
 address.

“ To Anne Queen of Great Britain, &c.

“ The grateful and humble Address of the people  
 “ commonly called Quakers, from their yearly  
 “ meeting in London this 28th day of the third  
 “ month called May, 1708.

Third Ad-  
 dress to Q.  
 Anne.

“ WE having good cause to commemorate  
 “ the manifold mercies of God vouchsafed to this  
 “ united kingdom of Great Britain, believe it  
 “ our duty to make our humble acknowledg-  
 “ ments, first to the divine Majesty, and next to  
 “ the Queen, for the liberty we enjoy under her  
 “ kind and favourable government, with hearty  
 “ desires and prayers to Almighty God (who hath  
 “ hitherto disappointed the mischievous and  
 “ wicked designs of her enemies both foreign  
 “ and domestic) that he will so effectually reple-  
 “ nish the Queen’s heart, together with those of  
 “ her great council, with his divine wisdom, that  
 “ righteousness, justice and moderation, which  
 “ are the ornaments of the Queen’s reign, and  
 “ which exalt a nation, may be increased and  
 “ promoted.

“ And we take this opportunity to give the  
 “ Queen the renewed assurance of our hearty  
 “ affection to the present established government,  
 and



CHAP.

XVI.

1708.

“ and that we as a people will, in our respective  
 “ stations, according to our peaceable principles,  
 “ by the grace of God, approve ourselves in all  
 “ fidelity the Queen’s faithful and obedient sub-  
 “ jects, and as such conclude with fervent prayer  
 “ to the Lord of Hosts, that after a prosperous,  
 “ safe and long reign in this life, thou, O Queen,  
 “ mayst be blessed with an everlasting crown of  
 “ glory.”

Seven friends were appointed to present this address, amongst whom was George Whitehead, who upon presenting it, said, “ We heartily wish  
 “ the Queen health and happiness: We are  
 “ come to present an address from our yearly  
 “ meeting, which we could have desired might  
 “ have been more early and more seasonably  
 “ timed, but could not, because our said meet-  
 “ ing was but the last week, and therefore now  
 “ hope the Queen will favourably accept our  
 “ address.” When he delivered it, the Queen requested him to read it, which he did, and the Queen answered, “ I thank you very kindly  
 “ for your address, and I assure you of my pro-  
 “ tection; you may depend upon it.” To this G. Whitehead replied, “ We thankfully ac-  
 “ knowledge that God, by his power and  
 “ special providence hath preserved and defended  
 “ the Queen against the evil designs of her ene-  
 “ mies, having made the Queen an eminent in-  
 “ strument for the good of this nation and realm  
 “ of Great Britain, in maintaining the tolera-  
 “ tion, the liberty we enjoy in respect to our  
 “ consciences against persecution: which liberty  
 “ being grounded upon this reason in the late  
 “ King’s reign, *for the uniting the Protestant sub-*  
 “ *jects*

CHAP. “ *jects in interest and affection*, the union of Great  
 XVI. “ Britain, now settled, tends to the strength and  
 { “ safety thereof; for in union is the strength and  
 1708. “ stability of a nation or kingdom; and with-  
 “ out union no nation or people can be safe, but  
 “ are weak and unstable. The succession of the  
 “ crown being settled and established in the pro-  
 “ testant line, must needs be very acceptable to  
 “ all true protestant subjects.

“ And now, O Queen! that the Lord may  
 “ preserve and defend thee for the future, the  
 “ remainder of thy days, and support thee  
 “ under all thy great care and concern for the  
 “ safety and good of this nation and kingdom of  
 “ Great Britain, and that the Lord may bless  
 “ and preserve thee to the end, is our sincere  
 “ desire.”

To this the Queen returned, “ I thank you  
 “ for your speech, and for your address; and  
 “ ye may be assured I will take care to protect  
 “ you.” G. Whitehead replied, “ the Lord  
 “ bless and prosper the Queen in all her good in-  
 “ tentions;” and then these friends withdrew.

Account of  
 Thomas  
 Camm.

In this year died Thomas Camm of Camm’s-  
 gill in Westmoreland, son of John Camm, whose  
 life and character is the first recorded in this his-  
 tory. Both his parents being members of the  
 society, conspicuous for their integrity and piety,  
 he had the advantage of a religious education in  
 the principles of the people called Quakers, their  
 pious counsel and circumspect example made a  
 deep impression on his tender mind; whereby,  
 from his early youth, he was blessed with religi-  
 ous sentiments, and delighted in the company of  
 the most religious persons. And as he grew up,  
 his

his understanding was illuminated, to perceive, CHAP. XVI.  
 that besides an education in the most perfect form of religion, the experience of inward sanctification by that word, which is quick and powerful, was necessary; and being humbled into frequent inward retirement to feel after this quickening word, he was favoured with the attainment of what he saw he stood in need of, and by the virtue of this refining power being purified, he received a gift in the ministry, in which his doctrine was sound, and his delivery agreeable, not in the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in the demonstration of divine power, reaching the witness of God in the hearts of his hearers, whereby he was made instrumental to convert many to, and establish many in the way to righteousness and peace.

He spent much of his time in travelling in various parts of the nation, in the exercise of his ministry, for the edification of his friends, while he was left at liberty. But he bore his share of the sufferings of this age both in person and property, whereby his travels were repeatedly interrupted. In the year 1674 he was sued by John Ormrod, priest of Burton, for small tithes and oblations, and by a writ *de excommunicato capiendo* he was cast into prison at Kendal, where he was detained in a close confinement for a great part of three years. He was afterwards imprisoned for six years in the county jail at Appleby (as before noted in the account of his wife's decease) on what account I am not informed, but most probably for the like demand of tithes, so that he was imprisoned near nine years in all.

<sup>1</sup> His sufferings.

<sup>1</sup> Imprisonment at Kendal,

<sup>2</sup> At Appleby.

On the 13th of October 1678, after the commencement of the last conventicle act, Edward

CHAP. Wilson, a justice of peace, sent several informers  
 XVI. to a meeting held in the house of Edward Cragg  
 of Ackonthwaite, and upon their evidence, con-  
 1707. victed several persons without examination, or  
 summoning them before him, and issued his war-  
 rants of distress, whereby there were taken from  
 Thomas Camm in particular, for preaching at  
 the said meeting, nine head of cattle and fifty-  
 five sheep worth 3*l.* 10*s.* When the officers  
 complained to this rigorous justice that they could  
 not sell some of the cattle, he charged them to  
 sell at any price, and fetch more till they had  
 enough, and ordered them to drive them from  
 market to market, to sell them cheap for the  
 encouragement of buyers; threatening them,  
 that if they did not raise all their fines, they  
 should pay the rest out of their own pockets.  
 There were again, by warrant from the said Wil-  
 son, two oxen taken from him worth 7*l.* upon  
 an information of being at a meeting at Tarle-  
 ton; being with others fined on account of a  
 preacher, who was said in the warrant to be fled,  
 and his habitation unknown: Whereas the  
 preacher was so far from fleeing, that he went to  
 the justice's house, and left word there, that his  
 name was Thomas Dowcra, and that he dwelt at  
 Swarthmore near Ulverstone, in Lancashire, and  
 that he was of ability to pay his own fine, for  
 which reason he desired it might not be imposed  
 upon others.

<sup>3</sup>  
 Distrained  
 to the  
 value of  
 3*l.* 10*s.*

<sup>4</sup>  
 To the va-  
 lue of 7*l.*

All his sufferings, which were many, he bore  
 with fortitude and firmness; unshaken in his  
 testimony for truth, he maintained it uniformly  
 to the last; far from being discouraged by suffer-  
 ing in a good cause, it was his joy and crown of  
 rejoicing,



rejoicing, that he was counted worthy not only to believe in the truth, but also to suffer for it. CHAP. XVI.

He was not only eminent amongst his brethren for his service in the ministry, but in the maintaining the discipline of the church, for which he was remarkably well qualified, being himself a shining example of righteousness in his own conversation, richly replenished with divine wisdom, and adorned with meekness and humility, his endeavours to promote an orderly conversation, consistent with their profession, amongst his friends, were attended with the greater weight and effect; whether exerted in the meekness of wisdom for the strengthening and encouragement of the weak and well disposed; or in a well tempered zeal against every appearance of evil; especially against that spirit which endeavoured to lay waste the testimony and religious care of friends, and foment divisions in the church, with which we have seen the county of his residence was particularly exercised. Being a man of peace, he laboured to follow it with all men; to promote it in the church and amongst all sorts of people. Love and unity amongst brethren he rejoiced in, and where any thing appeared tending to a breach of it, he used his utmost endeavours to put a stop thereto. Benevolent and kindly affectioned to all men, he was beloved and esteemed by the good, as far as his acquaintance extended.

When he was advanced in years, and affected with infirmities in consequence of the hardships and sufferings he had endured in the successive stages of his life, his zeal for truth, and his love to his brethren, and concern for the well-being of mankind in a general way, engaged him in

CHAP. repeated religious labours and visits to his friends  
 XVI. in various parts, to their comfort and edification,  
 to near the termination of his life.

1707. His last journey in religious service was into Lancashire, the west of Yorkshire, and his own county of Westmoreland, from which he returned on the 17th of the 11<sup>mo</sup>, 1707, O. S. to his Son-in-law's, John Moor's at Eldworth; and here he was immediately attacked by a return of a distemper which had been before at times troublesome to him, viz. the stone and gravel, which continuing to encrease upon him, and affect him with violent pain, so that he could take little food or sleep, yet he bore it with much patience. In the prospect of future happiness he was perfectly resigned to the divine will, frequently expressing his acquiescence therein in these or similar terms, "I neither desire to live nor to die, but  
 " am well content, however it shall please the  
 " Lord to order it." One day sitting alone, his son John Moor came to bear him company, and asking him how he did? he answered, "I am  
 " weak in the body, but strong in the inner  
 " man, blessed be the Lord, who hath been my  
 " strength and support hitherto," expressing his humble thankfulness to the divine Being for his multiplied and unspeakable mercies to him, in the successive vicissitudes of his life.

About a week before he died, several of his grand-children being in the room with him, he said unto them, "Now I think I must leave you.  
 " If the Lord had seen meet to spare me a little  
 " longer, I might have been of service to you in  
 " counsel and advice; but the Lord, the great  
 " and wise counsellor, as you have your eye to  
 " him

“ him above all things, will not be wanting in  
 “ counsel to you ; I love you entirely, and the  
 “ blessing of the Almighty rest upon you, if it be  
 “ his will.” To John Moor and others present,  
 “ Bear me record, that I die in perfect unity  
 “ with the brethren ; my love is as firm and true  
 “ as ever, in our Lord Jesus Christ, the author  
 “ of our salvation.”

C H A P.  
 XVI.  
 1707.

To recount all the solid expressions which this good man brought forth from the good treasure of his heart, during a confinement of five or six weeks, might to some readers appear tedious : The fore-cited expressions appear to bespeak a mind redeemed from the earth, and looking forward with serenity to an habitation eternal in the Heavens, for which he had been, through the course of a pretty long life, careful to make preparation.

He departed this life at Eldworth aforesaid, in much peace and quietness, the 13th day of the first month 1707-8, in the 67th year of his age. His body was removed from thence to his late habitation at Camm's-gill, and on the sixteenth from thence to friends burying-ground at Park-end in Preston-Patrick to be interred. The great numbers and decent solemnity of friends of that and other adjacent counties, and of the neighbourhood of other societies, under a general appearance of sorrow, demonstrated the respect they bore to his character. The corpse being interred, most of the attendants drew into the meeting-house, and had an edifying season together, the divine presence eminently overshadowing the assembly, to the affecting many hearts with reverent solemnity and serious considerations, under  
 the

CHAP. the influence whereof, divers lively testimonies  
 XVI. were borne to the sufficiency of that universal prin-  
 ciple of light and grace, of which the deceased  
 1710. had been a shining example.

In this year party animosities, which appear to have subsided for some time past, broke out with remarkable violence. Sacheverel, a violent high church-man, inveighed against the dissenters in several harangues; for two of which he was complained of to the house of commons, who impeached him of high crimes and misdemeanours, of which he was found guilty by the lords and silenced for three years; the clergy and others of the same stamp, who were now become numerous, patronized his cause as their own, with all the vehemence of a violent party spirit, pointed their sermons and discourses with intemperate warmth against the dissenters, and stimulated the populace to riot and outrage against them, raising a popular cry that *the church was in danger*. The Queen also being influenced to change her ministry and measures, he was used as a tool to turn the passions of the vulgar in favour of the design; and from the prevailing spirit at this time, many

Apprehensions being conceived by some, of a design to weaken the act of Toleration, and the Queen declaring her resolution to support it,

of the dissenters were filled with apprehensions of a design to repeal or at least to weaken the act of toleration; but a new parliament being elected, the Queen in her speech declared her resolution to maintain the indulgence by law allowed to scrupulous consciences, whereupon a committee of the people called Quakers waited upon her with the following address:

“ To



“ To Queen Anne of Great Britain, &c.

“ The humble and thankful Address of the  
 “ Queen’s protestant subjects, the people  
 “ called Quakers, in and about the city of  
 “ London, on behalf of themselves and the  
 “ rest of their persuasion.

1710.

The people  
 called Qua-  
 kers address  
 her again.

“ When we consider the Queen’s royal regard  
 “ to protect our religious liberty, and the fresh  
 “ assurance from the throne of her christian reso-  
 “ lution to maintain the indulgence by law al-  
 “ lowed to scrupulous consciences, and her ten-  
 “ der care that the same may be transmitted to  
 “ posterity in the protestant succession in the house  
 “ of Hanover, we find ourselves concerned  
 “ gratefully to acknowledge her goodness there-  
 “ in, and the ready concurrence of her great  
 “ council therewith.

“ Taking this occasion to assure the Queen of  
 “ our duty and affection and peaceable behaviour  
 “ under her government, as is our principle, and  
 “ hath always been our practice.

“ And we heartily desire our fellow-subjects  
 “ may lay aside all animosities, and in a spirit of  
 “ love and meekness, endeavour to outdo each  
 “ other in virtue and universal charity.

“ That it may graciously please almighty God  
 “ to defend and bless thee, O Queen ! and guide  
 “ thee by his counsel in a long and prosperous  
 “ reign here, and afterwards receive thee to  
 “ glory, is the hearty prayer of thy faithful sub-  
 “ jects.

To

## CHAP.

## XVI.

To this Address the Queen answered,

1710.

“ I thank ye for your address, and ye may depend upon my protection.”

Account of  
John Banks.

This year died John Banks, who was born of honest parents, in the parish of Ifsel in Cumberland. In early youth he was convinced of the principle of the divine light in the heart, not by the preaching of men, but the inward conviction of his own mind, and brought to an acquaintance therewith before he had any acquaintance amongst the people called Quakers, or heard their doctrine preached; but by a motion in his own mind, he was incited to go to a meeting of the said people, in consequence whereof he went to their meeting at Pardshaw, where very few words were spoken; but a paper was read therein, which had a considerable effect upon him, being pertinently applicable to his condition. And through diligent attention to the ingrafted word, which is able to save the soul, he experienced a growth in sanctification, and was prepared for the reception of the gifts of the spirit: in the year 1663 he appeared in the ministry and visited some of the meetings in the neighbouring counties; and in the year 1668, being more deeply experienced in the work of religion, he was made willing to forsake all, to perform his duty in the service of his maker and the cause of truth, travelling into the southern and western counties, and in a great degree devoted the future time of his life to the like beneficial purpose. He laboured zealously in the promulgation of the gospel, both in several

ral parts of England, in Scotland, and Ireland \* CHAP. XVI.  
 feveral times over, to the edification of the fociety  
 of his friends and the convincement of others, who remained witneffes to the efficacy of his mi-  
 niftry and as feals thereof. 1710.

In the year 1679, he felt it his duty to go forth under a preffing concern of mind into thofe counties and places, where the feparation begun by † Wilkinfon and J. Story had got ground, to bear his teftimony againft that fpirit of feparation which had its life in contention and difcord. He firft went with Chriftopher Story for his companion, to the yearly meeting in London, where (he writes) “ the love and life of pure religion “ was in dominion, fo that the oppofing fpirit was “ never once able to lift up its head; an agreea- “ ble harmony prevailed throughout, the power “ of God being over all.” From London they turned weftward through Berkfhire and Wiltfhire to Brijtol; here he paffed along under a deep travail and anxiety of foul by day and by night, that the deceitfulnefs and error of the fpirit of feparation, which fought to divide and make parties in the fociety, might be made manifeft, and

\* See vol. 2, p. 479.

† It may be proper to obferve, there were at this time two perfons of the name of John Wilkinfon in the fociety, or under the name of Quakers, viz. John Wilkinfon of Cumberland, who had been a prieft of Brigham, and had two parifhes more; he was convinced by the miniftry of G. Fox in 1657, became an approved minifter among the people called Quakers, and many were convinced by him: He travelled into the South and Weft of England, with J. Banks for his companion in 1668; and continued a faithful man till the day of his death in 1675. The other Joan Wilkinfon of Weftmoreland, principally known in our hiftory for his oppofition and feparation.

**C H A P.** and that the innocent might be preserved from  
 XVI. being entangled or hurt by it, infomuch that he  
 ~~~~~ could take little refreshment of food or sleep; not-  
 1710. withstanding which he was so supported with the spi-
 ritual strength and the authority of the gospel in
 his testimony, that although some of these separatists
 were highly provoked, railed at him behind his
 back, threatened to give him public opposition,
 and for that purpose followed him from meeting
 to meeting; yet the power which supported him,
 and evidently attended his testimony, chained
 them down, so that when the time came, they had
 no ability to put their threats in execution. He
 passed through those parts, labouring in the mi-
 nistry to the comfort and edification of the
 church, and the increase of peace in his own
 mind.

He had a share also in the sufferings attendant
 on his profession in this persecuting age, both in
 imprisonment and the loss of goods. In the year
 1662, George Fletcher, a justice of peace, came
 to a meeting at Howhill in Sowerby parish, rush-
 ing in a hostile manner, with a retinue armed
 with swords and pistols, and finding John Banks
 on his knees, the justice struck him over the
 head, and when he continued praying, ordered
 him to be pulled down backward, and caused
 him and others to be dragged down the hill, in
 a violent and cruel manner, and afterwards sent
 them to Carlisle jail. At the ensuing sessions
 some were fined 10*l.* and the rest 5*l.* each, and
 distraints made to considerably more than the
 value. ^a In the year 1683 several informers came
 to the meeting at Pardshaw-Cragg, and found
 Peter Fearon preaching: They applied to justice
 Fletcher,

^a Bessé, vol. 1.

Fletcher, who fined him 20*l.* and ordered it to be levied on himself and several others who were present, among whom John Banks was one : And although Peter desired the whole might be charged on himself, he being of sufficient ability, the justice persisted in his design, and issued his warrants for distraint, whereby goods to the amount of 7*l.* 10*s.* were taken from John Banks. When these goods were exposed to sale, and no purchasers could be found, this justice ordered his own servants to purchase some of them, which they did at a very low price ; and the officers to supply the defect made further seizures, whereby the value of the distraints at last amounted to 35*l.*

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1710.

This justice Fletcher seems to have entertained a particular enmity against this reputable man, impelling him to every measure in his power, to distress him and his family in their outward circumstances : For at the very time he granted the abovesaid warrant for distraining his goods for his arbitrary fine, being an impropriator, he was carrying on a severe prosecution against him for tithes. John Banks being subpœnaed to answer his bill, because, from his conscientious scruple, he could not put in his answer upon oath, was run to a contempt, upon which he was arrested at the very same time, that the officers and informers with their assistants, to the number of twelve, came to his house to execute Fletcher's warrant of distress^b.

He was committed to prison in Carlisle jail, where he was detained six years and nine months, during which time he received much
rude

^b J. Banks's journal.

CHAP. XVI.  1710. rude treatment and abuse from the jailer and his deputy by his order; being instigated there-to, first by his own vexation, because John and his friends and fellow-prisoners hesitated to gratify his avaricious disposition, in taking chambers from him at his price; and secondly, by the priests and magistrates of the city, who were disturbed and exasperated at John Banks, because the friends in prison keeping up their meetings, particularly on the first day of the week, he frequently felt a concern to preach among them, and standing near the casement, which opened to the street, his testimony could be heard by the citizens as they came from their worship. This exasperated both the priests (of which there were a considerable number in that place) and the magistrates, as the people in passing would frequently stand to hear him: In order to put a stop thereto, the mayor of the city, accompanied by some of the aldermen and others, came into their meeting in the prison one first day while John was preaching, and in great passion commanded him to be silent, shaking his wand at him, and threatening to gag him. But neither his passion nor his menaces could effect his purpose; John intimating to him, that he conceived he had his commission from a superior power; and that as mayor he had no authority to molest him and his companions in confinement; they were the king's prisoners, and in safe custody. With some further menaces the mayor and his company departed, and gave them no further molestation in person.

But there is reason to presume they gave a charge to the jailer and his turnkey, to endeavour

vour to prevent him from preaching, even by violence. The turnkey generally watched their meetings, and as soon as he heard John Banks's voice, would drag him by force out of the room to some other place, and confine him there till after the meeting was ended. The turnkey at other times would endeavour to prevent his speaking, by putting his hat over his face; hooting to drown his voice; clapping his hands on his mouth, and such like rough treatment. Once finding him on his knees at prayer, being urged by the jailer, who was also present, this turnkey pulled him off his knees, threw him down, and endeavoured to drag him by force along the ground, which not being able to do, the jailer came to his assistance, and then they jointly pulled him away, and shut him up in a noisome smoaky room over the brew-house, in which he was locked up several times; at one time three days and two nights without a bed of any kind to lie down upon.

The jailer finding these harsh measures ineffectual to compass their design of silencing him, had recourse to remonstrance, representing to John "that the priests, mayor and aldermen of the city were greatly displeased, and threatened to fine him for suffering him to preach, and his friends to hold conventicles in the jail, proposing their removal to another house from the street, or at least to the further end of the room, where he might not be heard." In reply to this, John Banks, who conceived his ministry not restricted to his friends and fellow-prisoners; but that it was to be also exercised to call the inhabitants to repentance as opportunity offered,

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CHAP. offered, signified, “ That as his prisoner he
 XVI. “ should be subject to him, let him put him
 ~~~~~ “ where he would ; but as to matters of religi-  
 1710. “ ous duty he could own no subjection to him  
 “ or them ; but to the clear discovery of the  
 “ light in his own mind only.” The jailer  
 and his deputy therefore returned to their former  
 practice of haling, confining and personal abuse,  
 whereby his body was much bruised and his health  
 impaired.

The jailer, although he pretended at times to palliate his severity, under the fear of the resentment of the magistrates and priests, could not forbear at other times to give vent to his own private resentments on the subject that touched him more closely, because they did not take their diet and lodgings from him at extravagant rates, abusing them with opprobrious language, calling them rogues, rascals and cheating knaves, menacing them with the smoaky loft and common jail, and charging the turnkey to let them out on no occasion, not even to buy victuals, which charge was pretty strictly observed, inso-much, that for some time they were hard put to it to provide necessaries for themselves.

The jailer not fully gratified by this severity, or not finding it answer his purpose, in a few weeks proceeded to put his menace in execution, by thrusting John Banks and another friend into the common jail amongst the felons and poor debtors, at a time when it was so crowded, that there was no convenient room to sit or lie down, and J. Banks was in an ill state of health, having been indisposed for some time before ; upon  
 which



which account one of his fellow-prisoners made this remonstrance to the jailer, "If this friend shall  
 " diethrough thy cruelty and hard usage, his blood  
 " will be required at thy hands : " The jailer, with  
 all the unfeelingness of such officers, replied, " he  
 " did not care if J. Banks never stood upon his  
 " feet again, he would put him into the common  
 " jail ; " which he did, where J. Banks and his  
 companion were obliged to sit all night near the  
 sink, the common receptacle of the filth and ex-  
 crements of the prisoners. And when they got  
 some straw to lie on, they had only the wet  
 ground to lay it on, close by the noisome sink.  
 He was confined here sixteen days and nights,  
 during which time his wife (with other friends)  
 coming twenty miles to visit him in prison, she  
 requested of the jailer, that he would permit her  
 husband to come to her in some place more con-  
 venient than the common jail ; but as divested of  
 all tenderness, he refused her, and sent her  
 word, " If she wanted to see him, she might in  
 " the common jail, but no where else." She  
 continued with him there one night and part of  
 the next day, a sympathizing witness of the hard-  
 ships he underwent.

When the jailer found he could not by any  
 contrivance effect his purpose, to procure cham-  
 ber-rent from him and his friends, growing  
 uneasy in his mind from a troubled conscience,  
 he brought John back to his fellow-prisoners,  
 after a confinement of two weeks and upwards in  
 the dark dungeon.

And when he could neither by these harsh  
 measures make the gain he wanted by these pri-  
 soners, nor hinder John Banks from preaching,  
 he,

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CHAP. he, being much threatened by the priests, re-  
 XVI. moved himself and them to another house, and  
 placed them in rooms backward from the street,  
 1710. where they held their meetings peaceably, with-  
 out much further molestation from the jailer or  
 any other; who after persecuting them as above  
 described for about six months, seems to have re-  
 lented, and in process of time to have indulged  
 them with as much liberty as they could expect.  
 John Banks was detained in prison till he was re-  
 leased by King William's act of grace in 1690,  
 seven years wanting three months from his first  
 commitment.

Soon after his release he took another journey  
 into the west, to pay a religious visit to his  
 friends in that quarter, and thence to London,  
 where his service was very acceptable and pro-  
 fitable to many, and the meetings generally very  
 large, all along his friends were respectful and  
 rejoiced to see him again after his long impri-  
 sonment.

A few months after his return from this jour-  
 ney, he met, (according to his own expression)  
 with the greatest trial that had ever befallen him,  
 in the removal of his virtuous and well-beloved  
 wife, with whom he had lived in great comfort  
 and near affection twenty-seven years; and whom  
 he characterizes as a meet help to him, a sympa-  
 thizer in his exercises; a woman industrious and  
 careful in ordering their outward affairs, and in  
 the religious education of their children in his  
 absence: That she was well-beloved amongst her  
 friends and neighbours: bore her sickness with  
 patience; and ended her days in peace the 2d  
 day of 10<sup>mo</sup>, 1691.

In

In the year 1696 he married his second wife CHAP. at Glastonbury in Somersetshire, and fixed his residence in that county, first at Mear, and afterwards at Street. He continued his travels for the promoting a religious concern amongst his brethren, even in his advanced years, when affected with great bodily infirmity. About two months before his decease he paid a religious visit to several meetings of his friends, both those for religious worship and those for discipline, in the care of the poor, widows and orphans, being equally well qualified for service in both; a man endued with excellent talents for promoting good order, pursuing those things that were just, pure, lovely and of good report. In this last journey at Somerton, in a large meeting, he was raised in his testimony to the admiration of those; who were acquainted with the infirm state of his health. He continued a considerable length of time in his testimony against outside appearances of religion, destitute of the substance, with perspicuity and just distinction in his doctrine, demonstrating the strength of his memory and mental faculties, and the soundness of his judgment in spiritual matters, being wonderfully supported by divine assistance to preach the word to the consolation, refreshment and edification of the meeting.

His zeal for the promotion of truth and righteousness removed from his thoughts the present consideration of his bodily infirmity. His natural strength was, by his exertion, so far weakened, that it was a task sufficient for two men to lead him from the meeting to his

1710.  
Marries a second time, and removes into Somersetshire.

CHAP. lodging: but he was very cheerful under the  
 XVI. feeling of an increase of peace in his bosom,  
 for spending his remaining strength in the best  
 1710. cause, and signified his inward satisfaction in  
 that day's service. He proceeded in his visit to  
 Puddimore, and from thence to Yeovil, where  
 in a large meeting of friends he was afresh  
 divinely influenced in his public service, with a  
 lively zeal and quick discerning of the states  
 of several present, to which he addressed per-  
 tinent doctrine; and from thence he returned  
 home, where he was soon seized with that dis-  
 temper of which he died. During the time of  
 confinement he frequently said, " Though my  
 " pain be great, my soul doth magnify the Lord  
 " for his goodness to me". On the 22d of 7th  
 month several friends being present, after some  
 time spent in silence, he exhorted them to a  
 diligent attendance of meetings for worship,  
 both on first days, and other days of the week,  
 set apart for that purpose; also their quarterly  
 and monthly meetings for discipline, expressing  
 his great love to friends of Glastonbury and  
 Street, to whom he had been a good example  
 in the diligent attendance of meetings, which  
 he now recommended, adding, " Although I  
 " am weak in body, and know not whether I  
 " may live much longer, yet I am strong in  
 " the Lord and the power of his might, and  
 " have nothing to do but to die." To a young  
 man that came with some other friends to see  
 him he said, " Art thou the young man that  
 " lives at Somerton, lately convinced of the  
 " blessed truth?" He answered, " Yes." " The  
 " Lord be with thee," continued John Banks,  
 " and I desire thee in the love of God to  
 " give



“ give up in obedience to the working of the CHAP.  
 “ spirit of God in thy heart, and then he will XVI.  
 “ do great things for thee; and do not thou  
 “ stumble at the cross, for the more thou look- 1710.  
 “ est at it, and puttest it off, the harder will  
 “ it be to thee to take it up.”

Much more good advice, during his sickness, he imparted to those who came to see him, with a favour of life and power which greatly affected those to whom it was addressed. His last expressions on record were, “ It is well  
 “ with me, I have nothing to do but to die,  
 “ and I shall end in the truth as I began.”

William Crouch, according to his best calcu- Account of  
 lation, was born on the 5th day of the 2d William  
 month called April 1628, in a small village Crouch.  
 called Penton by Weyhill, near Andover in  
 Hampshire. His father was a substantial yeo-  
 man, of good repute in the country, and well  
 beloved in his neighbourhood. His mother  
 was a religious woman, and one of the people  
 in that day called Puritans. She was a watch-  
 ful guardian over her children, to preserve  
 them from evil either in word or action; and  
 would often call them together to pray with  
 them, and for them by day or by night, as she  
 found seasonable opportunities, wherein she He is reli-  
 hath left a good example to others of her sex giously edu-  
 who are mothers of children. cated.

His father was taken off in the prime of life, leaving his children young; and the civil war arising soon after unsettled the family, and deprived him of his share of his father's property, and also of the advantage of learning, which otherwise he might have had. He re-

CHAP. moved to London in 1646, and bound himself  
 XVI. apprentice there.

1710.  
 Careful of  
 his compa-  
 ny.

His religious education was not lost upon him, for in all the changes of situation he was preserved in a good degree of innocence and sobriety from many temptations and evils incident to youth. Careful of his company, he shunned the converse of such as indulged in excess, rudeness and dissipation, and chose for his associates such as were religiously disposed and sober in their conduct.

He diligently attended the ministry of such public preachers as were in the greatest reputation for wisdom and piety; he often wrote their sermons, and was sometimes much affected, and on his return home would spend his time in retirement and prayer. Yet not knowing the Lord was so near him as he was, he witnessed little growth of grace in his heart, or power over his affections and lusts; but was sometimes overcome by temptation, and allured to vanity and folly, which afterwards proved a burden and uneasiness to his soul; yet in great mercy he was followed closely with the reproofs of instruction, which he found by experience to be the way to life.

He begins  
 to frequent  
 the meet-  
 ings of the  
 people call-  
 ed Quakers.

In the year 1656 he first began to frequent the meetings of the people called Quakers, being convinced in his judgment of the truth of their principles; and as he gave heed to that grace and truth which they testified of, he was not only convinced speculatively of the truth of their testimony, but experimentally convinced by the operation of this light and grace in himself, that God, by his good spirit, was nigh at hand, a discoverer of the thoughts and in-  
 tents

tents of the heart, and a reprover in secret for every evil way, word and thought, and by his light in his conscience a discoverer also of the way to escape temptation. Through the illumination of this divine light he saw sin to be exceeding sinful, and that godly sorrow was produced in him, which brings repentance not to be repented of.

C H A P.

XVI.

1710.

A friend that well knew him testifies, His treasure was in heaven, and as for the treasure of this world he set no value upon it, further than to be his servant for necessary uses, and to extend in charity to the indigent. His charity was amply and variously diffused, and he was always disposed, with a ready mind, to assist such as were in affliction or distress of any sort, where either his advice or purse was wanting.

He looked upon himself not so much a proprietor of the temporal treasure Divine Providence had blessed him with, as a steward, and accountable to the Lord of the universe for his stewardship, and therefore his care and endeavour was to be found faithful in the discharge of the trust committed to him.

*That love of money, which the apostle declares to be the root of all evil, being the foundation of uncharitableness, he looked upon with such aversion, that he published a treatise under the title of The enormous Sin of Covetousness detected, informing the reader in the preface, that it was not ambition to appear in print that incited him to that undertaking, but a sincere and just abhorrence of that crying sin.*

And as he was exemplary in shewing mercy to the poor, and in helping and relieving the weak and afflicted, so he was equally conspicuous

C H A P. ous for his punctuality and uprightness in commerce, doing justice to all, fulfilling his contracts, and paying his just debts in due time, and doing to all men as he would wish others to do to him. He was clearly shewn what he should do, and acted in obedience to the divine discovery, *to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly before God.*

XVI.  
1710.

The year before his death he wrote to his children a concise but comprehensive paper or epistle of christian counsel, which might remain as a testimony of his paternal regard and affectionate concern for them when he should be no more, viz.

“ The 7th 2<sup>mo</sup>. 1709.

“ You, my children all, I charge you love  
 “ God above all; love one another, live in  
 “ peace one with another; avoid all appearances  
 “ of discord; remember you are brethren; see  
 “ that you fall not out by the way in your  
 “ travel and pilgrimage. Seek not a rest here,  
 “ but pass on to that city of rest which God  
 “ hath prepared for his people. Be exemplary  
 “ in your lives and conversations; keep truth  
 “ and it will keep you, and give you an inheritance with the saints in light. Be watchful  
 “ over one another for good, and as much as  
 “ in you lies live peaceably with all men. And  
 “ the God of peace bless you and prosper you,  
 “ and make you a comfort to yourselves, and  
 “ one to another, which is the earnest prayer  
 “ and cry of my soul to God.

“ Your loving father,

“ WILLIAM CROUCH.”

He,



He, like most of the rest of his brethren, C H A P. XVI.  
 was repeatedly a sufferer both in his person and property. He was once cited to appear at 1710. His sufferings.  
 Christ Church (so called) to answer the present-  
 ments of the church wardens, and for not ap-  
 pearing he understood he was excommunicated,  
 but they proceeded against him no further.

But not long after, in the year 1661, he was chosen scavenger of Broad-street ward, and for declining to take the oath of office was committed to the Poultry compter; and for refusing to pay fees and what they call garnish money, he was shut up in a hole among the common poor prisoners, where he had no lodging, and but very little room to walk, when the prisoners were locked up at night. Sometime after he obtained his discharge by an application to John Frederick, mayor of the city.

In about three months after he was arrested at the suit of the parish called St. Bennet Pink, as he was informed, for tithes or wages for the priest Samuel Clark, and was again committed to the Poultry compter, where he was continued in confinement about one year and three quarters; but through favour of the jailer he got liberty sometime to go home to superintend his business.

In the year 1665, during the time of the plague, the persecution, as hath been observed, did not cease\*, but the jails in and about the city of London continued to be crowded with fresh prisoners, infected as they were, and amongst others it fell to the lot of this friend

\* See vol. ii, p. 140.

H A P. to be imprifoned. He was at Peel meeting on  
 XVI. the third day of the week, where about the  
 number of fixteen were affembled; for, what  
 1710. through the number confined by the ficknefs  
 and in prifon, the meetings were frequently  
 fmall; for thefe reafons only, and no declen-  
 fion in the zeal of friends, who continued to  
 attend them diligently through all the attendant  
 circumftances of difcouragement. At this time,  
 while a friend was on his knees at prayer, a  
 company of trained bands came in, haled the  
 friend from his pofture in prayer, took the  
 whole body affembled to the guard-houfe near  
 Whitehall, where they were kept all night;  
 next morning, refufing to pay 40s. each, arbi-  
 trarily demanded of them, as the price of their  
 liberty, they were committed by the Duke of  
 Albemarle to the Gate-houfe, Weftminfter, for  
 three months, by the following warrant:

“ You are on fight hereof to take into your  
 “ cuftody Solomon Eccles, Robert Towerland,  
 “ Thomas Portland, John Bolfover, Humble  
 “ Fletcher, William Crouch, John Pierce and  
 “ Christopher Cooke, who are guilty of being  
 “ at an unlawful meeting, and refufing to pay  
 “ their fines. Given under my hand this 23d  
 “ day of Auguft 1665.

“ ALBEMARLE.

“ To the keeper of the  
 “ Gate-houfe or his  
 “ deputy.

“ The officer of the guards is to fend a fer-  
 “ jeant and four files with them.

Thus

Thus were reputable citizens sent to prison C H A P.  
 by military authority, under a military guard, XVI.  
 like vile criminals, and confined in an infected 1710.  
 prison, in which, as they were informed, the  
 prisoners were dying of the contagion, four or  
 five in a night. One of these friends, viz.  
 Robert Towerland, was taken off; the rest,  
 through the favour of Divine Providence,  
 escaped.

These appear to have been the last friends  
 imprisoned on the act for banishment in the  
 city of London.

It hath been before remarked, that although  
 sufferings on other accounts sometimes subsided,  
 yet those for tithes and priest's wages were  
 very rarely, if ever, intermitted. This friend  
 had his dwelling-house burned down in the ge-  
 neral conflagration, and during the rebuilding,  
 being as an inmate, he was not liable to these  
 demands. But after the city was rebuilt, he  
 seated himself in Grace Church-street, where he  
 was soon called upon for three quarters of a  
 year's wages for John Cliff, called rector of  
 St. Bennet, Grace Church, London, and for a  
 demand of 11. 19s. had three pieces of white  
 serge taken from him worth 31. 10s. Some-  
 time after he received 15s. 5d. sealed up in a  
 paper, with an account, debiting him with the  
 unreasonable sum of 15s. 7d. for charges of dis-  
 training. When he opened the paper, and  
 found what it contained, he returned the ac-  
 count and money to the priest, saying in a let-  
 ter to him, " I receive not aught from thee,  
 " nor do I want any thing which thou sellest.  
 " I never made bargain with thee for aught,  
 " nor

CHAP. " nor never consented to pay thee any thing,  
 XVI. " how then canst thou deem me thy debtor."

After the last conventicle-act came in force  
 1710. W. Crouch was exposed to the depredations of  
 the informers and convicting justices, as ap-  
 pears by the following warrant :

" To all constables, headboroughs, church-war-  
 " dens, tithing-men, overseers of the poor,  
 " bailiffs, and all other his Majesty's officers  
 " within the said city whatsoever :

" Whereas by the oaths of two credible wit-  
 " nesses before me, Sir Jonathan Raymond,  
 " one of his Majesty's justices of the Peace for  
 " the city aforesaid, there was a conventicle or  
 " unlawful assembly, held the 13th day of this  
 " instant June, in a certain meeting, in White-  
 " hart-court by Grace Church-street, in the  
 " aforesaid city, in the forenoon, wherein were  
 " a company of persons, all above the age of  
 " sixteen years, and subjects of this realm, to  
 " the number of above sixteen more than those  
 " of the family or household, contrary to the  
 " act of parliament in that case made and pro-  
 " vided, amongst whom was William Crouch,  
 " upholsterer, in Grace Church-street in the  
 " aforesaid city. In which conventicle or un-  
 " lawful assembly, to these deponents was a  
 " person unknown, who did take upon him  
 " to teach and preach under colour or pretence  
 " of exercise of religion, in other manner and  
 " form than according to the liturgy and prac-  
 " tice of the church of England, whereby the  
 " penalty of 20l. was forfeited by the preacher  
 " or teacher as aforesaid ; who being unknown  
 " as



“ as aforesaid, the penalty by him forfeited  
 “ ought of consequence to be levied on any  
 “ one person for any one offence, for which  
 “ cause I have imposed the fine of ten pounds  
 “ for his own offence, and part of the preach-  
 “ er’s offence.

CHAP.

XVI.

1712.

“ These are therefore in his Majesty’s name,  
 “ and by virtue of the said act, to command  
 “ you or some of you to levy the said sum of  
 “ 10l. by way of distress and sale of the said  
 “ offender’s goods abovementioned; and if you  
 “ are refused entrance into the house or houses  
 “ in possession of the said William Crouch, af-  
 “ ter you have declared your business in his  
 “ Majesty’s name, you are hereby required to  
 “ break open all and every the doors, barrica-  
 “ does, &c. belonging to any house or houses  
 “ as aforesaid, and to enter and levy the full  
 “ contents of what you can find towards all  
 “ and every the warrants that you shall be  
 “ charged with, during the time you shall be  
 “ in possession of such premises in pursuance of  
 “ the said statute, and that you return the  
 “ same to me, to be distributed according to  
 “ the said act; and for so doing this shall be  
 “ your warrant. Given under my hand and  
 “ seal this 23d day of June, Anno Regni Ca-  
 “ roli secundi 35. Annoq. Domini 1683.”

Another warrant of the like tenour, bearing date the 21st of April 1684, was issued against him by Thomas Jenner, Recorder of London, to levy ten pounds off his goods by way of distress for the like cause, upon conviction execution issued, without hearing the party informed against. The law we have seen allowed an appeal,

CHAP. peal, but such was the management of many  
 XVI. justices, and such the temper of the time, that  
 ~~~~~ little right could be procured by appealing.

1710. Jenner in particular was a notorious encour-
 W. Crouch. ager of the informers. In his hands the dis-
 tress or amount was deposited, and the money
 upon appeals; and being also the sole judge
 upon these appeals, upon trial of illegal con-
 victions, he manifested himself a party against
 the appellant, and instead of sitting to do right
 and justice, as he ought by his duty and his
 oath, he would employ every effort of chican-
 nery to baffle the appeal. In this instance, the
 informers having sworn to a wrong day, the
 party aggrieved deposited the money charged
 upon him, and entered his appeal. When it
 came to a trial with others of the like nature,
 the witnesses being examined, and the jury
 gone forth to agree upon their verdict, Jenner
 also left the bench, and in some small time re-
 turned. The jury coming in with their ver-
 dicts, this appellant found they had dropped
 his cause, which was then called over again, in
 order to a new trial, upon which his counsel
 advised him to withdraw his appeal, for, said
 he, they are resolved to carry it; so he suffered
 the loss of the deposit, and all charges.

Upon this transaction the sufferer makes this
 observation, " I have been the more particular
 " in this relation of fact, that the reader may
 " take notice of the combinations of wicked
 " men, who joined hand in hand to secure to
 " themselves the gain of oppression; and ac-
 " cording to Isa. lix. 13, 14, 15, *Conceiving*
 " *and uttering from the heart words of falsehood:*
 " *Judgment is turned backward, and equity can-*
 " *not*

“ not enter : Justice standeth afar off, and truth
 “ is fallen in the streets ; and he that departeth
 “ from evil maketh himself a prey, and the Lord
 “ saw it, and it displeased him that there was
 “ no judgment.”

CHAP.

XVI.

1710.

I own I have often been ready to admire how this persecuted body of men ever struggled through all the hardships and losses, in person and estate, they sustained for such a length of time, under the hands of unreasonable men vested with arbitrary power, that the whole of their substance particularly was not swallowed up by the spoilers : And how can it be accounted for better than they themselves with thankfulness have done ; acknowledging the goodness of the Divine Being with them in all their sufferings, and his blessing greatly prospering the labour of their hands in their outward occupations and their commercial engagements ; favoured with his peace in reward for their patience and fidelity, hardships were made easy to them ; and his providential hand attending their industry and frugality, compensated all their losses, so that with many they were soon made up ; and it appears certain that great numbers were, notwithstanding all they lost, blest with a sufficiency of the things of this life to content for their own use, and to spare abundantly for the help of others, of which number this worthy man was one ; while at the same time their spoilers reaped little advantage from their plunder ; it wasted away strangely, as if to them it were an accursed thing. They lived, many of them, in infamy, and died in poverty and wretchedness.

As

C H A P. As he advanced in years he became infirm;
 XVI. being severely afflicted with *fits of the stone* for
 1710. about two years before his death, which he bore
 with much patience, meekly submitting to the
 divine will, without murmuring or complaining
 in the least.

About nine months before his own departure, and at a time when his distemper was sharp upon him, he met with an additional severe affliction in the removal of his wife, a woman of singular piety and virtue, with whom he had lived fifty years and upwards in much comfort, being united in the fear of their Creator, and sincere affection to each other. The loss of a relation so well and so deservedly beloved, of whom he gave this testimony, that *she would deny herself to a very great degree to serve him, beyond what he could ask or expect from her*, could not but make a deep impression upon him; but such was his resignation to the will of his Heavenly Father, that he possessed his soul in patience, acknowledging with Job, “ that the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; “ blessed be the name of the Lord.”

And as the time of his own dissolution approached, being, through divine mercy, well prepared for it, and patiently waiting for the accomplishment thereof, he often admired the goodness of God to him, in inclining his mind to seek after righteousness from his youth, and in preserving him through the whole course of his life to old age. He often retired in prayer; and when he saw his children in affliction for him, he exhorted them *not to desire his life, for he was through age and weakness incapable of*
being

being serviceable according to his desire ; and that CHAP.
he had done his day's work in his day. XVI.

The day before he died, a friend who had paid him several visits in his sickness, went to see him, and sitting sometime with him, was influenced to pray on his behalf, and they were greatly comforted together. William expressed his great satisfaction in that visit, and said *he had nothing to do but to die, and was waiting for the time when it should please God to call him out of this miserable world, and take him to his eternal rest.* 1710.

The night following he took his solemn leave of his children, who were then present, telling them, He now thought he had but little time, and the time which he so greatly desired and waited for was near at hand, in which he rejoiced, praying that his change might be made easy, that so his patience might hold out to the end ; and his request was mercifully granted him.


Thus in a good old age he terminated a well-spent life, at the age of eighty-two, the 13th of the 11th month, 1710.

Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace. Psal. xxxvii.

37.

C H A P. XVII.

Bill against occasional Conformity.—Friends at Frederickstadt under sufferings by War.—Address upon the Conclusion of Peace.—The Magistrates of Aberdeen make a By-law to disfranchise Quakers.—Order of Privy Council thereupon.—Act against the Growth of Schism.—Representation of the People called Quakers against it.—The Bill passed.—Rendered ineffectual by the Queen's Death.

CHAP. XVII.  1711. THE temper of the people and of the new parliament seemed to present a favourable opportunity again to introduce the bill against occasional conformity, which after repeated ineffectual attempts was passed this year, wherein it is enacted, “ That if any person in office, “ who by the laws are obliged to qualify themselves by *taking the sacraments*, shall ever “ resort to a meeting of Dissenters during the “ time of their continuing in office, they shall “ forfeit twenty pounds for every such offence, “ and be disqualified for any office for the future, till they have made oath that they have “ entirely conformed to the church, and have “ not been at any conventicle for the space of “ a whole year.” Upon this act, John Penry, a justice of peace of *Aldborough* in the county of Suffolk, was prosecuted by one Wall, a bailiff of the place. The case was this: the said justice going to the parish church, understood by

by the way, that there would be no service there CHAP.
 that day, and hearing that there was a meeting XVII.
 of the people called Quakers he went to it. ~~~~~
 Wall being informed thereof, and apprehending 1712.
 the justice had transgressed the law, and expect-
 ing to make some gain of the information, com-
 menced a suit in the name of one that lived
 upon alms; but when it came to be tried the
 man was disappointed. Baron Lovel, the judge,
 expounded the meaning of the act, “ that it
 “ did not affect those who accidentally went into
 “ a meeting of Dissenters, but such as con-
 “ formed to the church to qualify themselves
 “ for an office without changing their religion.”
 But this was a different case, as the priest of
 the parish gave a certificate that the said justice
 was a good member of the church. Upon the
 present apparent circumstances the prosecution
 was dropped for fear of being condemned in
 costs, if a verdict should be brought in.

An occurrence in this year evidenceth the
 universal sympathy and brotherly kindness of
 the members of this society with and towards
 each other wherever situated, and the calamitous
 distresses brought upon innocent people by the
 irrational ambition of princes, in spreading the
 desolation of war for the sole purpose of gratify-
 ing their lust of power.

Some of the inhabitants of Frederickstadt in 1692.
 Holstein having been convinced of the principles Friends at
 of the people called Quakers, and continued in Frederick-
 that community, had a pretty large meeting stadt under
 in that town. The Swedes having broken into suffering by
 Holstein were closely followed by the Muscovites reason of the
 and Danes; Frederickstadt was full of Russian war.
 Vol. IV. H soldiers

CHAP. soldiers quartered upon the inhabitants, who
 XVII. being greatly distressed thereby, the meeting for
 sufferings in London, feeling for their brethren
 1712. here under their distressing trials, had written to
 friends of Holland and Germany to visit them,
 and inform the said meeting of their circum-
 stances, in order that the requisite relief might
 be administered, and received a narrative of
 their sufferings in two letters from Jacob Hagen
 of Hamburgh, and also another from friends of
 Frederickstadt, copies of which are here inserted,
 as follow :

“ Hamburgh, 24th of 12th month, 1712.

“ Here follows a short relation of my journey
 “ to Frederickstadt.

“ The Czar is there with his generals, and
 “ about 4000 men are quartered upon the inha-
 “ bitants of the place, from ten, twenty to thirty
 “ men in a family, and one or two officers,
 “ and some less; they quarter themselves as
 “ they please, use great insolence, and are also a
 “ great burthen to the inhabitants, hardly toler-
 “ able, in the charge of maintaining them with
 “ provisions, &c. which are very dear, one
 “ pound of butter 10s. and 12s. to 14s. and
 “ hardly to be had, twenty eggs 20s. to 24s.
 “ and no firing to be had for money, which
 “ causeth great uneasiness; the city so dirty
 “ that there is hardly any passing the streets
 “ without boats: the horses are kept in the
 “ lower rooms of the house, and above stairs
 “ it is full of people and their baggage. Last
 “ first

“ first day the Czar acquainted our friends he
 “ was desirous to come to their meeting, but
 “ they replied, the meeting-house was taken
 “ up with about twenty or thirty soldiers, who
 “ had made it like a stable; we desired that it
 “ might be evacuated, then we might keep our
 “ meeting, so he immediately gave orders for
 “ them to go out, and he came in the after-
 “ noon with about six or seven of his princes
 “ and generals, and sat with us still, and it
 “ seemed with much patience; Philip De Neer
 “ had a few words, and he staid with us about
 “ an hour, to the admiration of many. So this
 “ is a short relation concerning Frederick-
 “ stadt.

C H A P.

XVII.

1712.

“ The country people are mostly ruined and
 “ destitute, houses and land destroyed, horses
 “ and cattle taken away; the miserable state
 “ is hardly to be written as it is in reality.
 “ The war is likely to be continued longer
 “ than was expected now the Swedes have
 “ entered the city of Toningen, but the King of
 “ Denmark hath seized the whole dukedom
 “ besides.”

“ Hamburg, 7th of 1st month, 1712.

“ The war in Holstein is yet continued, to
 “ the great oppression of the inhabitants both
 “ in country and cities, especially by the Mus-
 “ covites, who are extremely cruel and turbu-
 “ lent; and what adds thereto, is their being
 “ of different languages, which makes their
 “ conversation very troublesome; they use great

H 2

“ exaction

CHAP. “ exaction on the country people, many of
 XVII. “ whom have been so misused, even some of
 1712. “ my acquaintance, that with wife and children
 “ they have left their habitations, having no-
 “ thing left; and the longer the Swedes con-
 “ tinue in Toningén, the worse it will be for
 “ the country and inhabitants. They demand
 “ of Frederickstadt a contribution of 30,000
 “ rix dollars, now they are fallen to 20,000;
 “ but neither the first, nor yet the last is pos-
 “ sible to be complied with. Prince Menzikoff
 “ hath allowed him for his table 100 per day;
 “ it is but a small place, and the inhabitants have
 “ 3 or 4000 men quartered upon them, so it yet
 “ seems total ruin must be the consequence, if no
 “ sudden alteration happen, which is to be desired.
 “ Most of the horses and cattle are ruined or
 “ driven away, and it is impossible to describe
 “ the miserable state and sore visitation, which
 “ is over those places. As to friends in gene-
 “ ral, I mentioned in mine of the 24th past of
 “ my having been there; they are still pretty
 “ well; some have more quartered upon them
 “ than others, but now in this time of conti-
 “ nuance every one will find his full share of
 “ the burthen. It was not unserviceable to
 “ them, that it came in the Czar’s mind to go
 “ to meeting as he did, for since that time the
 “ meeting-house is kept free, which before was
 “ full of Muscovites; and the Czar, as well as
 “ some of his officers, have received of friends
 “ books, that is, Robert Barclay’s Catechism
 “ and another treatise, so that some begin now
 “ to enquire after the Apology, which I have
 “ this day sent for from Holland. Friends, as
 “ well

“ well as other inhabitants, have their full free- CHAP.
 “ dom, and the Muscovites make no difference, XVII.
 “ if they get their bellies full, where they are
 “ quartered. And as concerning your ardour 1712.
 “ in being helpful and assisting to friends, I
 “ shall endeavour the same further, as I have
 “ already done, in consideration of the great
 “ need there was and is, and shall desire my
 “ brother to inform me, wherein I can be
 “ most serviceable to them, and advise you what
 “ passeth, so conclude with my dear love and
 “ salutation to you and friends in general.

“ I remain,

“ JACOB HAGEN.”

A Letter from Friends at Frederickstadt.

“ To the Friends, Fathers and Elders at London.

“ Dear Friends,

“ We received your letter dated 26th of 12th
 “ month, English stile, which was read in our
 “ public meeting the 26th, our stile, and we are
 “ rejoiced to find your continued love and care
 “ for the honour of God, and our welfare in
 “ the Lord, in this time of deep exercise over
 “ this poor country and to us, which yet con-
 “ tinueth, for few people account any thing
 “ they have their own, being dispossessed of house
 “ and land, many houses and dwellings in the
 “ country

CHAP. “ country being laid in ruins, and the country-
 XVII. “ man is forced to part with his horses and
 ~~~~~ “ cattle, and the land lieth unplowed in many  
 1712. “ places. By the great number of soldiers that  
 “ are here (according to human prospects) there  
 “ is like to follow nothing but utter ruin and  
 “ poverty, except the Lord by his omnipotency  
 “ make way for us, whose hand is not shortened  
 “ nor power bounded. As to us the Lord hath  
 “ been very gracious unto this very day, giving  
 “ us a heart of resignation, and our daily bread  
 “ he hath not withdrawn; also rendering unto  
 “ us his heavenly mercies daily, blessed be his  
 “ holy name. In what manner the Lord pleased  
 “ to work for the delivering of our meeting-  
 “ house from the soldiers who had possessed the  
 “ same, we hope you have had account before  
 “ this time, viz. that he inclined the heart of  
 “ the great Czar to come to our meeting in  
 “ person, who immediately ordered the meet-  
 “ ing-house to be evacuated by the soldiers,  
 “ which was done accordingly, and we had a  
 “ good comfortable meeting with him, and sever-  
 “ al of his princes and great men of his retinue,  
 “ whereof an account is given to the friends of  
 “ Holland; and our friend Jacob Hagen was  
 “ here at the same time an eye-witness with us,  
 “ and we enjoy our meeting peaceably to this  
 “ day, and friends continue agreeably to meet  
 “ together therein as much as this time of ex-  
 “ ercise will suffer us. We dearly salute you  
 “ in a feeling sense of that brotherly union in  
 “ the everlasting truth of our God, according to  
 “ our measures; remember us in your prayers  
 “ to God, and it will be very acceptable to  
 “ receive



“ receive another letter from you. We remain CHAP.  
 “ your tender friends and brethren, XVII.

“ PHILIP DENEER,

1713.

“ JERONIMUS HAGEN.

“ RAZANT CLOISUM.

“ JAN VAN KEMP.

“ MICHAEL WITTENBERG, &c.

“ Frederickstadt, 11th of 4<sup>th</sup> month,  
 “ 1713, new stile.”

The war which had been carried on by Eng-  
 land, in conjunction with the Emperor and the  
 Dutch against France, ever since the beginning  
 of the Queen's reign, was terminated this year.  
 On the 13th of 3<sup>d</sup> month, O. S. commonly called  
 May, a treaty of peace between England, France  
 and Holland, was signed at Utrecht. The par-  
 liament being convened, the Queen in her speech  
 informed them, that she had now concluded a  
 peace, had obtained a further security for the  
 protestant succession, and was in an entire union  
 with the house of Hanover. Addresses of con-  
 gratulation being procured and sent up from all  
 or most parts of the nation, the people called  
 Quakers, whose principles led them on all occa-  
 sions to rejoice and approve the establishment  
 of peace, on the present occasion presented the  
 following address to the Queen :

“ To

C H A P. " To Anne, Queen of Great Britain, &c.

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" The humble address of her Protestant Dissent-  
 " ing subjects, called Quakers, met at our  
 " annual meeting in London, the 3d day of  
 " the 4<sup>th</sup> month, called June, 1713.

" May it please the Queen,

Address of  
 the Quakers  
 thereupon.

" We having been sorrowfully affected at the  
 " calamity which war brought on Europe, can-  
 " not but express our satisfaction and gladness for  
 " the Queen's great care and christian concern  
 " for establishing so long desired a peace.

" We are also under a dutiful sense of the  
 " Queen's gracious government and compassion  
 " manifested towards tender consciences at home,  
 " as well as her Christian interposition in favour  
 " of persecuted Protestants abroad.

" And farther crave leave to assure the Queen,  
 " that we shall, as in duty bound, approve our-  
 " selves in all humility and faithfulness the  
 " Queen's obedient subjects; and though but a  
 " small part of those that enjoy, under thy mild  
 " government, protection in religious and civil  
 " liberty, we cannot but earnestly pray for and  
 " desire the quiet and safety of our country,  
 " which evidently appears to be the Queen's care  
 " to establish, in having done so much for se-  
 " curing the Protestant interest and maintaining  
 " perfect friendship with the House of Hanover.

" That it may please Almighty God in his  
 " mercy and goodness to assist with his wisdom  
 " the Queen in all her councils, and give her  
 " long to enjoy the quiet fruit of lasting peace  
 " in this life, and in that which is to come joy  
 " and peace everlasting, is our hearty and fer-  
 " vent prayer."

Thomas

Thomas Ellwood of Hungerhill, near Agmondesham in Buckinghamshire, in the course of this year closed a life, which had been very much devoted to the attainment of religious experience, and also to the service of religious society, both in the county of his residence and in the community at large. He was born at Crowell near Thame in Oxfordshire in the year 1639. His father, Walter Ellwood, was originally possessed of a competent real estate, and an equivalent personal property, which he inherited in right of his mother.

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Favouring the parliamentary cause, though not openly espousing it in arms, he thought himself too insecure in the place of his then residence, as the King's garrisons were in possession of that quarter; he therefore removed with his family to London, where the parliament had the predominancy, as a place of safety; Thomas was then about two years of age, and continued in London till after the surrender of Oxford, when the war being apparently at an end he returned to his estate at Crowell, by which time the expense of living in London had well nigh exhausted what money he was possessed of.

After the family's return to the country, Thomas was sent with his elder brother to the free-school at Thame, (a school at that time in reputation) where he made a speedy proficiency, having a natural propensity to learning; and if he had been continued there, and had been advanced to higher studies as his genius should expand, he would in all probability have made an excellent scholar; but upon the settlement of

CHAP. of the republican government his father accepted the office of a justice of peace, and put himself into a manner of living comporting with the dignity of his office, at the same time removing his elder son from school to Merton college in Oxford, and entering him there in the highest and most chargeable rank of a fellow commoner, he found himself obliged to retrench his expenses in some other cases. One article of retrenchment was very unfavourable to Thomas's progress in literature; for he was brought home to save the charge of maintaining him at school, and no proper mode of prosecuting his studies provided for him: He had made a considerable progress in Latin, and was entered into the study of the Greek language; but this curtailing of the expense of his education was nearly a throwing away of the expense already incurred therein; for being neglected in this business of importance at home, and left too much to himself to employ himself in study or amusement, in books or in pleasure at his option, the propensity of youth carried him with avidity after the latter, such as the place afforded, and his circumstances could reach, which drew off his attention from his books, till they were laid aside; he now lost all he had learned at school to that degree that he could hardly read, much less understand a sentence in Latin.

He now took his swing in vain courses, (as himself expresses) such, however only, as were accounted harmless recreations, entertaining his companions and acquaintance with jocularity and diverting discourses; but he always associated



ciated with persons of ingenuity, temperance and sobriety : scurrility in conversation he considered as contemptible, and he had a natural aversion to immoderate drinking, by which means, in the time of his greatest vanity, he was preserved from profaneness and gross immoralities : his reputation was unspotted in the eye of the world, and being naturally of a facetious, cheerful and liberal turn of mind, of a genteel behaviour and address, his company was engaging and acceptable to his equals and superiors in rank, opening him an easy access to persons of the best note in that country. Lord Wenman in particular, to whose lady his mother was nearly related, who had bestowed his own name upon him, when he made large promises for him at the font, always received him as a welcome visitant at his table ; and he had reason to expect some preferment in the world through the friendship of this lord, as soon as he should be capable of it, had he not shortly after been called to a higher service, and thereby lost the favour of all his friends, relations and acquaintance of this world. During the residence of his father and the family in London, he had contracted an acquaintance with the lady Springett, widow of Sir William Springett, who was afterwards married to Isaac Penington : In order to keep up the acquaintance, he continued occasional visits to them in their places of residence in the country, particularly when he heard of their removal to reside at their own estate at Chalfont in Buckinghamshire.

Some time after Isaac Penington and his wife had joined in communion with the people called Quakers,

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CHAP. Quakers, and when this people was become the  
 XVII. subject of much conversation, Thomas Ellwood's  
 father being desirous to inform himself of their  
 1713. principles, determined on a visit to Chalfont,  
 and took his son and two daughters with him;  
 they met with a kind reception, and spent some  
 days there, and during their stay a meeting be-  
 ing appointed about a mile distant, they were  
 invited to go to it, and readily complied.

To this meeting came Edward Burrough, James Naylor and others; but Edward Burrough only preached in that meeting, near to whom Thomas Ellwood sat, who was deeply affected with his doctrine, for it did not only clearly convince his understanding, but warmed his heart with animated feelings, such as he had never before experienced from the ministry of any man.

The next day they returned home\*; at their departure Edward Burrough accompanying them to the gate, directed his speech to them severally in a few words, according to the sense he had of their several conditions; of which this discerning young man appeared to have a clear comprehension. After they were gone off and the family returned into the house, Edward being asked what he thought of them, he answered to this effect: *As for the old man he is settled on his lees, and the young woman is light and airy; but the young man is reached, and may do well if he do not lose it.*

The impression made on his mind by Edward Burrough's public testimony and private address  
 was

\* Except the eldest daughter, who was gone before by the stage coach to London.

was too deep to be readily erased. In his re-  
 turn home his mind was greatly affected with  
 serious thoughtfulness and sadness of heart, al-  
 though as yet he could not distinctly understand  
 the cause: However, he felt a desire to go to  
 another meeting of the Quakers, and upon en-  
 quiry hearing of one appointed at High Wy-  
 comb, he went thither. It was held in the house  
 of John Raunce, and they had not been long  
 sat in the meeting before a person, to him at  
 that time unknown, but afterwards his intimate  
 friend, Samuel Thornton, stood up to speak. His  
 discourse was suitably adapted to Thomas's state,  
 and reached home as if it had been directed to  
 him.

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This meeting he esteemed like the clinching  
 of a nail, confirming and fastening in his mind  
 those good impressions, which it had received in  
 the former. His understanding began to open,  
 and the light, shining out of darkness in some  
 measure, discovered what it was that had before  
 clouded him, and brought that sadness and trou-  
 ble upon him; that although he had been pre-  
 served in a good degree from open immoralities,  
 and the gross pollutions of the world, yet the  
 spirit of the world had hitherto ruled in him,  
 and led him into pride, vanity, flattery and su-  
 perfluity, all which were naught. He found  
 there were many plants growing in him, which  
 were not of the heavenly father's planting, and  
 that all these (of every kind, and how specious  
 soever) were to be plucked up.

To trace the various conflicts he endured, and  
 the gradations whereby he advanced in the expe-  
 rience of that regeneration, without which Christ  
 declared

CHAP declared to Nicodemus, “ no man shall see the  
 XVII. “ kingdom of heaven,” would lead me into an  
 unnecessary prolixity, after similar accounts of  
 1713. the conversion of divers others, previously given  
 in this work. In proportion to his ready obedience to the divine will, manifested by the light in his own mind, he was favoured with the consolation of inward peace; but from without, his trials were severe and of considerable duration.

For a season after his conviction, and after his declining the customary modes of salutation and address (which he had been before in the practice of) to his associates and others, the vail was not so rent, but that there still remained a cloud on his understanding with respect to his demeanour towards his father, being willing to persuade himself that he ought to put that difference between him and all others, as to deport himself towards him, both in gesture and language, as he had hitherto done. So that his father observing no alteration in his carriage towards himself, found as yet no occasion to take offence at it.

But it was not long before he saw more clearly that the honour due to parents did not consist in uncovering the head, and bowing the body to them; but in a ready obedience to all their lawful commands, and in performing all needful services unto them; under this conviction he believed it his duty to behave to his father in this respect, as he, from conscientious conviction, had been persuaded it was right to behave to other people.

His



His father was in no wise pleased at the first apprehension he conceived of his son's inclining toward this people; but when he was convinced, by his standing covered before him, that he was really become one of them, he was transported by passion to that degree, that he fell upon him with both his hands, and after beating him violently, plucked off his hat and threw it away.

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The like occasions drew upon him a repetition of the like treatment several times over, till all his hats, one by one, were taken from him; and he was thereby, and by his father's command, obliged to submit to a kind of imprisonment in his own chamber during a cold winter, and having no hat to wear within or without he contracted a violent cold in his head; which kept him in great pain a considerable time.

After some time of this severe treatment, and close confinement, his kind friends Isaac and Mary Penington returned his father's visit, principally with a view to see how he fared. They had much discourse with his father in relation to their religious principles, and close reasoning in regard to his hard treatment of his son, for which he was quite at a loss to apologize. In conclusion Mary Penington proposed to his father, that since his son's demeanour was offensive, and his company unacceptable to him, he would give him leave to go home with them, and spend some time at their house, where he should meet with a sincere welcome.

Although his father was unwilling to comply, and sought many evasions, yet she prevailed upon him at length to leave Thomas at his liberty, whereby he was released from a pretty long imprisonment

C H A P. prisonment at home ; and going with his friends,  
 XVII. he had with them the full enjoyment of that li-  
 ~~~~~  
 1713. berty he most desired, the liberty of attending
 the meetings of his friends, both at the place of
 his present residence, and other places in that
 neighbourhood.

After some weeks stay with them, where he was treated with the greatest kindness, he returned home, where, although his father did not proceed to the extremity of assaulting him with blows, as he had done before, yet he kept him at a great distance, and through the offence he took at his appearing covered before him, would not admit him to his table, and as seldom as possible to his presence. By the interposition however of his sisters, he now enjoyed more quiet, and took more liberty to go to meetings than he had done before ; he informed himself of the meetings held in that neighbourhood, and many a hard travel he had in all weathers, two, four or five miles on foot through dirty roads. But the ardour of the early members of this society for their own spiritual advantage, and their progress in religious experience, which they felt to be especially promoted in their religious assemblies, as well as their apprehension of duty to worship the supreme Being in that way, which they thought acceptable to him, enabled them to encounter and surmount the attendant difficulties with fortitude and unrelaxed perseverance, while they were at liberty to attend them.

But this friend, with many others of his brethren of this age, was frequently deprived of that liberty by the confinement of his person in prison. His first imprisonment was in the year
 1660,

1660, upon the following occasion : He had been in London, and on his return calling at J. Pennington's, he met there with Thomas Loe, and from a desire that his neighbours might have an opportunity to hear the gospel preached livingly and powerfully among them, he proposed to Thomas Loe the appointing of a meeting in the town where he lived ; Thomas, not apprehending himself at his own disposal, did not immediately close in with the proposal, but desired T. Ellwood, if the matter continued with weight upon his mind, and he could get a convenient place, to apprize him thereof by a letter directed to him at Oxford.

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Thomas Ellwood having soon after a prospect of procuring a suitable place, wrote to Thomas Loe according to his desire, this being soon after Venner's insurrection, when orders were issued for the stopping and searching of letters, his letter was intercepted and carried to Lord Falkland, Lord Lieutenant of the county; whereupon he was taken up by a body of troopers and carried before two of the deputy lieutenants, who after examination and tendering him the oath of allegiance, committed him to prison in Oxford, but I suppose, in regard to his education and the station of his father, who was their neighbour, and apparently their equal in rank, he was not committed to the common prison ; but to the custody of the marshal, where his imprisonment was easy ; and not of very long continuance.

Soon after his release from this imprisonment he was left at full liberty to go to meetings, or whither he pleased ; for the time appointed for

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the King's coronation being at hand, his father with his two sisters went up to London on that occasion. His sisters were both disposed of in marriage; his father also took up his residence in the city, and returned no more to Crowell to settle, so that Thomas was left in the mansion-house to himself, and almost by himself.

He now paid frequent visits to his affectionate and hospitable friends at Chalfont; and at this time being sensible of, and lamenting the loss of his learning, he was incited to employ his leisure time, when at home at his solitary mansion, in diligent application to recover it; but finding it a matter of great difficulty to make the advancement he wished, for want of an instructor, he had occasionally expressed his regret at this disadvantage to his particular friend Isaac Penington, who thereupon interested himself in his favour to procure him the instruction he wanted, and through the mediation of an intimate acquaintance of London, obtained permission for him to attend upon the famous John Milton, at his house, to read such books as he should appoint, and receive his instructions. Milton who had filled a public station under the former rulers, now lived a private and retired life in London, and being deprived of his sight, always kept a person to read to him, which was usually the son of some gentleman of his acquaintance, whom in kindness he took to improve in his learning. Thomas, as soon as he understood this place was open for him, hastened to London to put himself under his tuition, and was courteously received by him. Having provided himself with books and accommodations

tions for his studies by his intended master's directions, he spent his mornings in studying in his chamber, and in the afternoon attended Milton, and read to him, and under his instruction was making a speedy proficiency; but the air of London and close confinement did not agree with his constitution, he lost his health, and in less than two months time was obliged to break off his studies, and return to the country for his recovery.

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His recovery was not very sudden, but at length he was mercifully restored to a good state of health; and then he returned to prosecute his studies in London, and was very kindly received by his master, whose good opinion and cordial regard he had conciliated; and who was much pleased with his company and conversation, and expressed his satisfaction at his recovery and return; with him Thomas went on in his former method of study.

But he soon met with another interruption, which put the finishing stroke to his studies there. In the year 1662, as well as the preceding year, a violent persecution was carried on against the dissenters, which (as hath been shewn) fell most heavily on the people called Quakers: Their meetings were broken up, and the prisons crouded with prisoners of this society. On the 26th of the 8<sup>mo</sup>. Thomas Ellwood went to the meeting at Bull and Mouth, which was suddenly disturbed by a party of soldiers or trained bands, commanded by one Major Rosewell, an apothecary, a reputed papist. The soldiers made their entrance, as usual, with noise and clamour; and further to terrify the assembly, Rosewell command-

CHAP. ed his men to present their muskets: But the assembly kept their places unmoved. The major XVII. commanded them to disperse; but being met, 1713. from a persuasion of duty to worship God according to his requirings, they thought, with the apostles, they ought to obey him rather than man, and therefore stirred not at the command of Rosewell; observing this, Rosewell ordered his soldiers to drag them out, which they did roughly enough. He took above thirty of them, of which number Thomas Ellwood was one, and committed them to prison in old Bridewell, which having been formerly a palace, was no incommodious prison.

This was some time before discipline was settled in the society; yet an excellent order had been established among friends of that city, in appointing suitable members of the community, male and female, to take the oversight of the prisons in every quarter, and to take care of all friends, the poor especially, that might be committed to any of them.

The prison of Bridewell was under the care of two grave, discreet, motherly women, Anne Merrick and Anne Travers, both widows, who as soon as they understood that there were friends committed to that prison, provided some hot victuals, meat and broth, and ordering their servants to bring these provisions, with bread, cheese and beer, came also themselves, and having placed the provision on the table, gave notice, “that it was provided for all such as had not  
“others to provide for them, or were not able  
“to provide for themselves,” and there wanted not a competent number of such guests.

Although

Although Thomas Ellwood's stock was very low, yet having had ten pence in his pocket he did not esteem himself in the description of those for whom the provision was made: Resolving to husband his scanty stock with the utmost frugality, and placing his confidence in divine providence for future subsistence, that good hand in whom he trusted, awakened the sympathy of some of his particular friends with him under his present trial, by whose beneficence he was supplied with more than a sufficiency to support himself during his imprisonment, and after his release was favoured with the means of returning them their advance, with grateful acknowledgments of their kindness.

After about two months imprisonment, Thomas and his fellow prisoners, were brought to the sessions at the Old Bailey. The prisoners complained of the illegality of their imprisonment, (for they were committed and detained by arbitrary power, without the intervention of the civil authority, having never been brought before a civil magistrate.) The court paid no regard to their reasonable complaint; all the satisfaction they received was the following speech of the Recorder, " If you think you have been wrong-fully imprisoned, you have your remedy at law; and may take it, if you think it worth your while; the court may send for any man out of the street, and tender him the oath; so we take no notice how you came hither; but finding you here, we tender you the oath of allegiance, which if you refuse to take, we shall commit you, and at length premunire you." Upon their refusal to take the oath they

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CHAP. XVII. they were committed to newgate, and thrust into the common side, which, as well as the other parts of the jail, was very full of friends, who were prisoners there before, and the addition of these new prisoners caused a great throng on that side. After some time they were removed back to Bridewell, their former prison, where they were much more comfortably accommodated, till the ensuing sessions at the Old Bailey, when being called to the bar they were without further question discharged.

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After his release Thomas Ellwood went down to pay another visit to Isaac Penington and his wife, intending after spending a few days there to return to his studies in London, but Isaac Penington being in want of a tutor for his children, prevailed on Thomas to stay with him in that capacity till he could meet with one; which not readily happening, and both parties being agreeable to each other, he stayed here till he married, near seven years.

While he lived here he was imprisoned again with his friend and patron Isaac Penington for his attendance of the funeral of Edward Perrot of Amersham, and committed to Aylesbury jail for one month, on the act of banishment.<sup>b</sup>

Not long after he was taken with others from a meeting at Hedgerly, not far from the place of his present residence, by the same justice Ambrose Bennett, who had committed him and others to Aylesbury jail, and now again committed to the house of correction at Wycomb, for the second offence, upon the act of banishment; but although this limits the duration of the imprisonment, yet this man, although a lawyer, so far forgot

<sup>b</sup> Vol. II. p. 144.



forgot himself as to order them to be kept until they should be delivered by *due course of law*. They were detained above twelve weeks; and then, the rest being released, Morgan Watkins, a ministring friend of Wales, who had been travelling in those parts, and Thomas Ellwood were required to find sureties for their appearance at the next assizes, which refusing, they were re-committed to the same prison. But the Earl of Ancram interposing in their favour, discharged them from their imprisonment, upon their promise to appear at the assizes, which they did, and were there discharged by proclamation.

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After his marriage, which was in 1669, he settled at Hunger-hill; and although he did not appear as a minister amongst his friends, he became a very respectable and serviceable member, and a well qualified elder of their religious society, being endowed with eminent talents to be useful in supporting and conducting the salutary discipline established therein, whether we consider him as holding the pen of a ready writer, in the capacity of clerk of the monthly, quarterly or yearly meeting; or with respect to his intellectual faculties, as a man, by precision of judgment, depth of penetration, and clearness of comprehension, qualified to speak pertinently to subjects under deliberation, and with discernment to see the point at which they should be rightly issued; yet with becoming modesty he did not tenaciously insist on his sentiments being adopted, but submitted them to consideration, and left them to make their way by the conviction of their propriety. Condescending to the weakest, he was not ready to reject or despise the sentiments

CHAP. timents of any other, which appeared to be well  
 XVII. intended however weakly expressed; but would  
 ~~~~~ give them due consideration, and adopt them as  
 1713. far as he thought their weight and pertinence en-
 titled them to approbation. The monthly meet-
 ing was held at his house for the greatest part of
 forty years, to which he officiated as clerk, and
 took upon him the care to keep the records
 thereof in good order.

He was also very serviceable to the cause of
 truth, and of the society, by his writings in de-
 fence of their principles, and in answering and
 refuting the calumnies of adversaries; as well as
 by sundry weighty epistles to his friends for their
 edification, and preservation from danger of
 being seduced by guile from the way of righ-
 teousness and peace.

He wrote in a very agreeable, easy and pleas-
 ing stile, clear and instructive, being generally
 a master of the subject he wrote upon; his pen
 exercised in defence or for the promulgation of
 religion and truth, hath left a standing evidence
 of the soundness of his understanding, and of
 the rectitude of his heart. After he was releas-
 ed from his office of tutor in Isaac Penington's
 family, and married, he seems to have been
 much master of his time, as it appears to have
 been very generally employed in serving the so-
 ciety and others, and in writings of one kind
 or other. I do not know that they were ever
 collected, and published together, as those of
 some other friends have been, many of them be-
 ing of the controversial kind, might be service-
 able and engaging attention at the time they
 were written; but the service answered, and the
 occasion

occasion ceasing, became less interesting to posterity, and therefore not necessary to be revived. He was much engaged in controversy either with adversaries without, or opponents within the society, whose endeavours were exerted to lay it waste. William Rogers and other separatists of that time, and afterwards George Keith, gave him much employment, to expose their deceit, and detect the fallacy of their pretensions, for the preservation of others from being entangled in the like snares; and his labours were greatly conducive to the good end designed by them. But some of his writings, being of a more universal nature, are preserved, as *The Foundation of Tithes shaken*; *The sacred History of the Old and New Testament*, in two volumes folio; and some others.

His private character was amiable and respectable; his countenance manly and cheerful; his deportment grave; yet affable and courteous even to the meanest; his conversation pleasing and instructive, yet marked with disapprobation of every thing that was beyond the circumscription of truth; of an obliging disposition, he was ready (and in many cases capable) to serve his neighbours as well as friends, wherever his service was wanted. To the poor, the sick and the impotent, who wanted relief, his house and his heart were open, being careful to provide medicines and other things useful for such purposes, begrudging no expense to do good; these qualities and dispositions procured him a great and general respect and esteem from most or all who were acquainted therewith.

He

CHAP. He lived to a pretty good age, and when advanced in years looked very well, being of a regular and temperate life, and healthy constitution, only in his latter years was at times troubled with an asthma; and at last was attacked with a paralytic stroke, which he bore with great patience and resignation; and although his speech was considerably affected, so as to be understood with difficulty, yet some of his dying expressions were sufficiently plain to be understood, conveying to the hearers a clear indication of the peaceful tenour of his mind, and perfect resignation to divine disposal. * Being visited by some of his friends, and one of them being concerned to pray by him, he expressed himself, in much tenderness, *I am sensibly comforted and refreshed in this visit.* At another time he expressed his resignation as followeth: *If the Lord hath no more for me to do, I am content and resigned to his will; and my hearty farewell to all my brethren.* And near his end he said, *I am full of joy and peace; my spirit is filled with joy.* In about eight days his disorder put a period to his life the 1st of 3^{mo}. 1713, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. Having served his generation according to the will of God, he fell asleep, and was honourably buried the 4th of the same month, being accompanied from his own house by a great number of his friends and others to the meeting-house at Jordans, and interred in friends burying ground there. The meeting was very large, in which divers living testimonies were borne to the truth, he lived and died

G. Bowles's
testimony.

* Appendix to his life.

died in, in a lively remembrance of him and his services in the church. C H A P.
XVII.

The antipathy which the magistrates of Aberdeen, through the instigation of their preachers had imbibed against this society continuing to operate, had produced a by-law of the corporation in effect to disfranchise all who professed Popery or Quakerism, those of the latter society, inhabitants in and about the city, presented a petition to the Queen and Council, praying relief, whereby they procured an order of the Privy Council, prohibiting the execution of the said by-law, as far as it affected the people called Quakers. 1714.
Magistrates
of Aberdeen
make a law
to disfran-
chise the
Quakers.

The Queen's health began to decline fast, and tend to her dissolution; the nation was at this time in a very unsettled state; party animosities were revived to an excessive degree, and her very ministers broke out into open dissensions, which were thought to hasten her end. The reigning party in the latter years of her reign, were of that class of the established religion, which had always manifested a bigotted and intolerant zeal for the hierarchy, and consequently a fixed aversion to all dissenters. A fondness for penal laws seemed to revive, and it looked as if they had now conceived a design gradually to destroy the benefits of the toleration act; for after carrying the act against occasional conformity, they brought in this session an act against the growth of schism, being designed to prevent dissenters from keeping schools, and virtually to take out of the parents hands their natural right in the care and direction of the education of their own children. The bill met with great opposition in both Act against
the growth
of schism.

CHAP. both houses as a species of persecution, and the
 XVII. people called Quakers presented to the legislature
 the following remonstrance.

1714.

Representa-
 tion of the
 people call-
 ed Quakers
 against it.

“ 1st, The church of England hath frequently
 “ declared, by several of her members, in a
 “ civil as well as clerical capacity, by those who
 “ framed and espoused one or more of the bills
 “ against occasional conformity, *that she is in*
 “ *principle against persecution, and for preserving*
 “ *the toleration.*

“ 2dly. The promoters of this bill may please
 “ to remember, that the Queen hath declared
 “ from the throne, that she will *maintain the*
 “ *toleration inviolable.*

“ 3dly. The protestant subjects of this king-
 “ dom, who are parents of children, are sup-
 “ posed to have preserved to them, by the funda-
 “ mental laws of this kingdom, the natural
 “ right of the care and direction of the educa-
 “ tion of their own children, which natural
 “ right this bill seems calculated to take away
 “ and destroy.

“ 4thly. If the governments which are now
 “ Heathen or Mahometan, should take into the
 “ same policy, the society which the Queen hath
 “ incorporated for the propagation of the gos-
 “ pel in foreign parts, can have very little, if
 “ any good effect or success.

“ 5thly. May it not seem an objection and
 “ contradiction to the many princely and chris-
 “ tian

“ tian solicitations which the Queen by her mi-
 “ nisters hath made at foreign courts, on the
 “ behalf of protestants, against the violent in-
 “ trusions of papists into their rights and just
 “ privileges.

C H A P.

XVII.

1714.

“ 6thly. It may be a means to oblige the
 “ carrying out of large sums of money for fo-
 “ reign education.

“ 7thly. It may probably do much hurt to
 “ charitable foundations.

“ 8thly. It seems not to be agreeable to the
 “ great law of Christ, Matt. vii. 12. *Therefore*
 “ *all things whatsoever ye would that men should*
 “ *do to you, do ye even so unto them ; for this is the*
 “ *law and the prophets.*”

But opposition or remonstrances avail little
 against determinations supported by power ; the
 ministry had managed so as to procure a major-
 ity in both houses of parliament ; the act was
 passed, and received the royal assent. The state
 of affairs and prevailing disposition at this time
 filled many of the dissenters, particularly, with
 gloomy apprehensions. The Quakers (so called)
 in their epistle from the yearly meeting this year,
 from the present prospect of things, gave forth
 this caution and exhortation to their friends :
 “ There seems at present to hang over us a
 “ cloud, threatening a storm. Let us all watch
 “ and pray, and retire to our strong hold in
 “ our spiritual rock and foundation, which
 “ standeth sure ; that our God may defend,
 “ help

The bill
passed.

CHAP. “ help and bless us, as his peculiar people, to
 XVII. “ the end of our days and time here, and [with]
 “ the full fruition of the heavenly kingdom
 1714. “ hereafter.”

Rendered
 ineffectual
 by the
 Queen's
 death.

The Queen was removed by death the very day this act against schism was to take place, whereby it was rendered ineffectual, and the princess Sophia having died a little before her, the crown, by the act of settlement, descended to her son George, Prince Elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh, who was proclaimed King of Great Britain the day that the Queen died.

C H A P. XVIII.

A M E R I C A.

G. Keith's Party fall into Dissensions and dwindle away.—George Keith is sent in quality of a Missionary to America.—His Endeavours more directed to depreciate the Quakers than to recommend Episcopacy.—His Interview with John Richardson.—Thomas Story meets with him at Shrewsbury.—He challenges a Dispute with Samuel Bownas ;—Which being rejected—George Keith and his confederate Bradford afterwards combine together to try if any Advantage can be taken from Samuel's Doctrine, -- Bradford lodges an Information against Samuel.—Who is imprisoned,—Brought to Trial, but the Indictment rejected by the Grand Jury.—Confined more closely.—At length cleared by Proclamation.—George Keith returns to England and obtains a Living in Suffex.—Becomes uneasy to his Parishioners about their Tithes.

THE party who had been drawn aside by George Keith, were by this time greatly reduced in numbers, during his presence amongst them, and for some time after he left them, actuated by that spirit of envy and bitterness, under the influence whereof they had fallen out with

C H A P.
XVIII.

1701.

G. Keith's
party fall
into dis-
sensious.

with

CHAP. XVIII. with their quondam friends, and detached themselves into a separate society, they continued to treat the body from which they had separated with great asperity, and to be very troublesome to them in their religious assemblies and elsewhere. But in a few years they fell into division and dissension amongst themselves, whereby they were diverted from their molesting of friends, to gratify their lust of contention in bitter altercations with each other. Thus disunited, their society dissolved, their meeting dwindled away, and in six or seven years their name as a sect sunk into oblivion. George Keith in the mean time had arrived in New England in quality of missionary, and, together with one John Talbot, had received letters of recommendation from the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, to make what converts they could in those provinces.

G. Keith
sent as a
missionary
to America.

Notwithstanding he had given great expectations from his influence amongst his partisans and others, of bringing over many from the Quakers and other dissenters to the church of England; and at his return gave such a flattering account of his embassy, that it was said he had brought comfort to the church; yet in fact he was very unsuccessful in answering the design of his mission. At his leaving his adherents in Pennsylvania, he had hinted to them, ^b if they should hear of his preaching amongst the presbyterians or independents they should not term him an apostate for that; but if ever they should hear of his putting on the canonical robe, and uniting with the church of England, he would give them leave to fix that denomination upon him.

^b Samuel Smith's MS.

him. When, therefore, he returned to America in the character and habit of a clergyman of that church, he effectually lost all his interest and influence with his former adherents; both those who had withdrawn after him from the people called Quakers, and the Baptists who had adhered to him, were quite shy of him; and offended with him, for leading them into a secession, and thus deserting them.

His principal exertions were not I apprehend in Pennsylvania, where he was known and now generally slighted; but in New England, and on that side where the people were greater strangers to his former transactions there; and still more directed to disturb the Quakers (so called) in their meetings, and by his accustomed false accusations to make them appear odious, than to render the church of England amiable, or pursue rational measures to reconcile dissenters thereto. His resentment against this society, first for rejecting him as a ruler, and afterward, as a member, still predominated in his mind, agitated him inwardly, and aggravated his unreasonable prejudice; under the impulse whereof his endeavours were more employed to vex and harass the Quakers, than to propagate the gospel amongst them, or any other body of people.

He seems very much to have made it his business to appoint his meetings or places of preaching, at the times and places where the people called Quakers held their general meetings; or where strangers of that society, came to those parts, in which he was, in the course of

CHAP.

XVIII.

1701.

their religious visits. * John Richardson of Burlington in Yorkshire, a well qualified minister, and a man deeply experienced in the work of religion, was at this time travelling in New England, came to Lynn to their monthly meeting, and was there informed of George Keith's intention to be at that meeting, which gave him some concern, under the apprehension of the interruption his presence might give to the solemnity of the meeting; he advised to be swift to hear and slow to speak, as George Keith had a life in disputation.

His inter-
view with
John Ri-
chardson.

The evening preceding the meeting, George Keith came to the house where John Richardson lodged, with a priest and a great number of people along with him, and began railing exceedingly against friends, in insult to the stranger: And then in vain exultation exclaimed, *Is here a man that is a scholar? Is here a man that understands the languages amongst you? If so, I will dispute with him.* To this boasting challenge John Richardson replied, "It was probable that the English language was most generally understood, and used amongst that people, and therefore he thought it most suitable to converse in." Then George Keith proceeded to magnify the dignity of his office, "that he was come in the *Queen's* name to gather the *Quakers* from *Quakerism* to the mother church, the good old church of England;" threatening the next day to convict them of *errors, heresies, damnable doctrines and blasphemies*: Adding, "look to answer for yourselves,"

* John Richardson's journal.

“ selves, for if you do not, the auditory must
 “ conclude, what I advance against you is true.”

John Richardson roused at this insulting menace, said to him, “ this is the fruit of malice and
 “ envy, and thou art unto us, but as a heathen
 “ man, and a publican.”

CHAP.

XVIII.

1701.

The next day George came to the meeting, where he repeated the purport of his embassy, and his threats in the same terms as on the preceding evening. John Richardson, in reply, laid open to the people assembled his conduct; the proceedings of the society in relation to him; to which George made no objection; but continuing quiet, the meeting was held peaceably and to edification, John Richardson appearing in the ministry, and beginning with these words, *After the manner that you call heresy do we worship the God of our fathers, believing all things that are written concerning Jesus Christ, both as to his Godhead and manhood.* The people were attentive and well satisfied; and George Keith owned “ he had been refreshed in that meeting, having heard many sound truths, with some errors; but that it was not the common doctrine which the Quakers preached.”

John Richardson, perceiving that this insinuation was intended to infuse an opinion into the people that the Quakers did not usually preach up faith in the manhood of Christ, to obviate the effects thereof, distinguished upon it to this purpose, that it was the less necessary, as being a point of faith universally received amongst christians, and as clearly demonstrated by the people called Quakers in their testimonies, and their writings, to be a point of faith with them,

CHAP. as any other people ; but that as his holy spirit
 XVIII. is highly concerned in man's salvation, as well
 ~~~~~ as what Christ did for us without us, and this  
 1701. being yet a mystery to many called christians,  
 it had pleased God to open them in the course  
 of their ministry, into the meaning and mystery  
 thereof, and to insist upon the latter more than  
 the former.

To this George Keith made no reply, but began to exhibit his charges, and stepped up to the gallery with his paper in his hand. John Richardson being taller, and standing by him, could see his quotations and paraphrases upon them, on which he told him, " that he offered  
 " violence to that sense and understanding which  
 " God had given him, and knew in his con-  
 " science we were not the people he through  
 " envy endeavoured to make the people believe  
 " us to be." The meeting soon after broke up, and terminated the controversy for that time.

They met again in Rhode-Island, and afterwards at Flushing in Long-Island ; but he gave friends little trouble in either : For at the latter, particularly John Rodman of that place, having got intelligence that George had by some means possessed himself of 50l. out of a considerable legacy left by Col. West to poor friends of London, which was ordered to be paid over to some faithful friends of that city, and it being proved upon him that he had received the said sum and never accounted for it, in wrong of the poor, he was slighted by most of the people, as well as friends, and this detection of his unfair dealing so blocked up his way that friends had little trouble with him in that quarter.

The

The next friend who fell in with him on his travels was Thomas Story from Carlisle. He being come in the course of his visit to Shrewsbury in East Jersey, informs us, that George Keith, in company with his fellow missionary, Talbot, came to Shrewsbury at the time of the yearly meeting held there for that province: On the first day of which he sent by said Talbot an advertisement to the meeting, “ That he purposed to have a meeting at a house in the town, to begin at the eleventh hour the next day, then and there to detect out of the books of authors approved among the Quakers, divers vile errors, contrary to the Christian faith, and the fundamental principles of the Christian religion.” And challenging friends as before, “ to come and answer for themselves, or he would judge his quotations and remarks to be true, and a demonstration to all intelligent people that he had not wronged them.” Where it may be proper to observe his subtle management in appointing his meeting about the middle time of friends meeting, when it was most likely they might feel themselves more comfortably and better employed than to desert their own meeting of solemn worship to perplex themselves with his invidious cavils: They returned him answer, “ That being to them as a Heathen or a Publican, they continued to reject him, despising all his works of envy and revenge; that as he had begun in print, they should (as hitherto) answer him in that way, as least liable to misunderstanding and misrepresentations.”

1702.  
Thomas  
Story, the  
next who  
meets with  
G. Keith.

Soon

CHAP. Soon after this Samuel Bownas from West-  
 XVIII. moreland landed in Maryland, and almost im-  
 mediately after received the following note :

1702.  
 G. Keith  
 challenges  
 Samuel  
 Bownas to  
 dispute.

*" To the PREACHER lately arrived from  
 " ENGLAND.*

" SIR,

" I intend to give notice after sermon, that  
 " you and myself are to dispute to-morrow, and  
 " would have you give notice thereof accord-  
 " ingly.

" Sir, I am your humble servant,

" GEORGE KEITH.

" Dated the 1st Sunday  
 " in August, 1702."

Samuel being previously engaged to go forward to an appointed meeting, in company with a considerable number of friends, would have taken no notice of an unprovoked challenge; but being told Keith would call the country together and make much noise about it, as if they were afraid of meeting him, and urging Samuel to write him an answer, he accordingly wrote to the following effect :

" GEORGE KEITH,

Samuel's  
 answer.

" I have received thine, and think myself  
 " no way obliged to take notice of one who  
 " hath



" hath been so very mutable in his pretences CHAP.  
 " to religion; beside, as thou hast been long XVIII.  
 " since disowned, after due admonition given 1702.  
 " thee by our yearly meeting for thy quarrel-  
 " some and irregular practices, thou art not  
 " worthy of my notice, being no more to me  
 " than an Heathen man and publican.

" SAMUEL BOWNAS."

George Keith and Samuel met sundry times in their travels in those parts, but had little discourse or debate with each other: But when he came into Long-Island, a meeting being appointed for him at a village called Hempstead, here he met with George Keith again, and William Bradford his late printer in Philadelphia: These two combining together, Bradford was sent to the meeting to see if any advantage could be taken of his doctrine.

He came accordingly, and when Samuel stood up to speak, he pulled out of his pocket a small book, with pen and ink, steadfastly staring in his face to try to put him out of countenance, but in vain: He then wrote a little, and so continued alternately essaying to write, and to daunt him by his staring; but Samuel feeling that animating virtue which bore him up above regarding his attempts, went through with the subject matter before him: When he had done, Bradford stood up with this interrogatory, " Will you stand by these doctrines in public that have been now preached?" To which John Rodman replied, " William, thou knowest what our friend hath been concerned to speak about



W. Bradford sent to the meeting to try if any advantage could be taken of Samuel's doctrine.

CHAP. “ about this day are such points as have been  
 XVIII. “ argued over and over, and as the controversy  
 “ hath been some years in print, it is needless  
 1702. “ at this time to reduce it to a verbal disputa-  
 “ tion.” But not being satisfied without re-  
 ceiving Samuel’s answer, he told him his ques-  
 tion being more for contention than edification,  
 he did not think himself obliged to answer it,  
 especially to one who for his contentious and  
 disorderly behaviour, after tender admonition  
 rejected by him, had been disowned; and for this  
 reason Samuel said, *I have no more to say to thee.*  
 Bradford upon this turned away in great wrath,  
 threatening *Samuel should hear of it another*  
*way.*

In his testimony Samuel had fallen upon the  
 subject of ceremonies, particularly those of bap-  
 tism and the use of bread and wine, called the  
 Lord’s Supper; and as it seems endeavoured to  
 shew their insufficiency to salvation of themselves,  
 according to the manner of the administration  
 thereof, either by the Papists, the Church of  
 England or Dissenters.

Keith, and Bradford from his notes, trumped  
 up a long affidavit, and Bradford attested it  
 before two justices; and then another evidence  
 being requisite, they met with a young man who  
 had been at the meeting, from whom Keith  
 extorted some expressions he had heard spoken,  
 which having done they threatened him with  
 dreadful consequences if he would not come in  
 and give evidence; therefore, through fear, he  
 was prevailed upon to give his evidence upon  
 oath in the words George Keith had got from  
 him by guile,

Having

Having brought matters to this issue, they CHAP.  
 procured a warrant to apprehend him, and put XVIII.  
 a stop to his travelling; for he was informed   
 that Keith had proposed the making a law to 1702.  
 restrain friends from travelling, only to their   
 own meetings; for it was the travelling preach- S. Bownas  
 ers that kept the Quakers compacted together. informs a-  
 This by bigots was approved as a likely method gainst him.  
 to put a stop to their increase, but by men of  
 moderation treated with the contempt it de-  
 served. The warrant being procured and de-  
 livered to the sheriff, he arrested him the next  
 day in the meeting at Flushing, being the half  
 year's meeting for New York government; but  
 being a man of a less implacable disposition  
 than the prosecutors, he stayed the meeting; S. Bownas  
 and after the meeting was over, having a con- arrested.  
 ference with some of his friends, he was pre-  
 vailed upon to give him his liberty till the fifth  
 day of the week, which gave him the opportu-  
 nity to attend the remaining meetings to the  
 end of the said half year's meeting, in which  
 he had good service, to the general satisfaction  
 of crouded auditories.

The meeting being ended, he appeared be-  
 fore the justices, accompanied by several friends,  
 and after his examination and their consultation  
 among themselves, he was called in again, when  
 the clerk informed him, that *these honourable*  
*justices have agreed that you must enter into*  
*2000l. bail, yourself in 1000l. and two of your*  
*friends 500l. each, or else be committed to the*  
*common jail.* Refusing to enter into bail, one of the  
 justices asked him, if the sum was too large, he  
 replied, " If as small a sum as three-halfpence  
 " would

CHAP. " would do, I should not do it, it being of  
 XVIII. " such a nature as I could by no means com-  
 ~~~~~  
 1702. " ply with." Jonathan Whitehead, one of the
 justices, was very friendly, wanted him to be
 set at liberty, offered himself for bail, and took
 him to his house that night, where he was very
 kindly entertained. The next day he was sent
 to jail with the following mittimus :

" Queen's } S. S. Joseph Smith, Esq; Ed-
 " County } ward Burrows, Esq; John
 " Smith, Esq; and Jonathan Whitehead, Esq;
 " justices of the peace for the Queen's
 " County.

" To the high sheriff of the Queen's County,
 " greeting.

Warrant of
 commit-
 ment.

" We send you herewithal the body of Sa-
 " muel Bownas, a Quaker, brought before us
 " this day, and charged with speaking scanda-
 " lous lies of, and reflections against the church
 " of England, as by law established, and other
 " misdemeanours by him done and spoken at a
 " public assembly in Hampstead in this county,
 " on the 21st day of this instant November.
 " And therefore these are in behalf of her Ma-
 " jesty to command you, that immediately you
 " receive the said Samuel Bownas, and him
 " safely keep in the common jail of this county,
 " until he shall be thence delivered by the due
 " course of her Majesty's laws. Dated under
 " our hands and seals at Jemeca this 30th day
 " of November, in the second year of the
 " reign

“ reign of our sovereign lady Anne, &c. AN-CHAP.
 “ noq. Dom. 1702. XVIII.

“ JOSEPH SMITH,

1702.

“ EDWARD BURROWS,

“ JOHN SMITH,

“ JONATHAN WHITEHEAD.”

This proceeding may appear strange at this time, as being supported by no existing law, and a violation of the act of toleration; but it is to be observed, that at this very time the high church party were so considerable a body in the parliament of England, that they had procured an act against occasional conformity; and manifested their enmity to dissenters by an acrimony which indicated their propensity to persecution, and was by many looked upon as a step to a repeal of the act of toleration.

It was at the same time the lot of New York to be governed by a principal of this party. Lord Cornbury, son to the Earl of Clarendon, was governor of this province, who actuated by an hereditary zeal for the hierarchy, and aversion to non-conformists, had in an arbitrary manner silenced sundry presbyterian preachers, and placed churchmen in their room, and on many occasions manifested an inimical disposition to dissenters in general, and an inclination to revive severe measures against them; taking liberties in this remote province, which would as yet have hardly been allowed or endured at home. Cornbury favoured the prosecution,
 and

CHAP. and it is probable, that the prospect of his
 XVIII. countenance thereto encouraged these ill-design-
 1702. ing men to make the attempt in his govern-
 ment, which they could expect little success in
 attempting elsewhere. Governors are seldom at
 a loss to find, or to model magistrates to com-
 ply with or promote their measures. The
 judges, particularly Bridges the chief justice,
 accommodating themselves to the governor's in-
 tentions, in imitation of our judges in king
 Charles the second's reign, directed their en-
 deavours to get him convicted right or
 wrong.

Bill of in-
 dictment
 preferred
 against him,
 rejected by
 the grand
 jury.

But although the judges were of this cast,
 the temper of the times was considerably changed,
 so that it was not easy to get juries equally ob-
 sequious with those of that æra. Where men
 thought for themselves, and were influenced by
 the impulse of their own consciences, they
 were not so easily warped by the partial instruc-
 tions of the bench. When Samuel Bownas had
 been about three months in prison, a special
 commission of Oyer and Terminer was issued to
 John Bridges, chief justice, and other justices.
 A bill of indictment was sent to the grand
 jury against Samuel, who had prepared reasons
 to set Bradford's evidence aside, and the same
 being laid before the grand jury, they had such
 weight with them, that they returned the bill
 endorsed, *Ignoramus*, at which disappointment
 the judge was greatly incensed, and treated the
 grand jury with indecent asperity, addressing
 them in this passionate language :

“ Gentlemen, surely you have forgot your
 “ oaths, and for so doing I could give you some
 “ hard

“ hard names, but at present shall forbear. IS C H A P.

“ this your verdict against the Quaker ? XVIII.

“ *Foreman.* It is, Sir.

“ *Judge.* I demand your reasons.

1702.

“ *James Clement, a juryman.* We are sworn
“ to keep the Queen’s secrets, our fellows and
“ our own, and therefore we declare no rea-
“ sons.

“ *Judge.* Now Mr. Wiseman speaks, but I
“ can tell you, you are not so sworn; and I
“ could find in my heart to lay *you* by the
“ heels, and a fine on the rest of your
“ brethren.”

The judge finding his threats ineffectual with men who knew they stood on constitutional ground, and therefore disregarded them, changed his mode of address, and begged them to take back the bill, and resume the consideration thereof, which they did, but could not be prevailed upon by menaces or by flattery to alter their verdict, which exasperated the judge to that degree, that he gave strict orders for the prisoner to be confined more closely than before, threatening, that as justice cannot be here
His imprisonment continued more closely.

come at, he would send him to London chained to the man of war’s deck, like other vile criminals, with his crimes and misdemeanours along with him. Samuel being a young man, little versed in the law, or the knowledge of the constitutional power of the judge, was greatly dejected at the report of this menace, doubting how far he might be able to support so disgraceful and so humiliating a punishment with the decorum suiting the dignity of the cause for which he suffered. His friends had left him
Threatened to be sent to England in chains.
alone,

CHAP. alone, and he had lost his faith, which was worse
 XVIII. than being left alone. His despondency was so
 1702. great, that he thought himself the most wretched
 among men, and scarcely able to live under it. In this condition he received a visit from Thomas Hicks, an antient man, who had borne the office of chief justice in the province some years, and was well versed in the laws, who gave him great encouragement, by assuring him the judge could not put his menace in execution, for that every criminal must be tried where the cause of action lies; but that the judge and governor also were disgusted by being frustrated in their designs. Had, said he, the Presbyterians stood as you have done, they had not so tamely left their meeting-houses to the church. The discourse of this honest man was the means of renewing his faith, and of raising him from the state of dejection in which he found himself before.

which
 causes him
 great dis-
 courage-
 ment.

He de-
 mands his
 liberty and
 is refused.

Being advised to demand his liberty as his right by law, he did so, both of the judge, and afterwards by petition to the governor, but it was arbitrarily refused. They were resolved, they said, not to be so baffled by the country, but they would bring him to justice. Keith printed some sheets, in pretence to open the eyes of the people, aggravating the case to the utmost; but it had a tendency to open their eyes, more to discover his envy and vindictive spirit against the Quakers in general, and the prisoner in particular, than to convince them of the justice of their proceedings.

He was now closely confined in a small room made of logs, which had been protested against as an unlawful prison two years before, and his

his friends denied to visit him. But here we CHAP. meet with a fresh instance of the care that rested XVIII. upon these disinterested men, not to make the gospel chargeable. Not knowing how long his imprisonment might continue, he became very thoughtful, what method to take for supporting himself, and it was suggested to his mind to try if he could learn to make shoes; and meeting with a good-natured man of that craft, he made proposal to him for instructing him in the art, at the same time acquainting him with his reason for so doing; he replied, “It is very honourable in you, but if one of our ministers were in the like situation, they would look upon it as a disparagement to take up so mean an occupation;” yet he acknowledged, if Samuel could earn his bread with his own hands, it was most agreeable to Paul’s practice. Samuel quickly made so much proficiency in the art, that he procured thereby more than a sufficiency for his support, which was not only conducive to make the time of his confinement less irksome, but administered abundant ease to his mind, in the reflection of being enabled to procure a support by the labour of his own hands without charge to his friends, some of whom were uneasy, supposing it might appear dishonourable in them to suffer it; but others apprehending it a great honour to the cause of the gospel, rejoiced that he succeeded so well.

He learns to make shoes for his support in prison.

1702.

He was detained in prison about nine months longer; and about the beginning of the eighth month 1703, the sheriff received an order to summon another jury, to try their success a second

1703.

CHAP. cond time. He had private instructions to procure such a jury as might be likely to answer their purpose, which he shewed Samuel with marks of abhorrence, assuring him he would never do it. So the jury being fairly named, and the indictment sent to them, they looked upon it too frivolous to engage their serious attention, and returned it, as their predecessors had done, *Ignoramus*. He was next brought into court, and nothing appearing against him, he was discharged by proclamation. Not only his friends, who came from most parts of the island to wait the issue of his trial, but the people in general, were exceedingly rejoiced at his acquittal and discharge, after being invidiously imprisoned, and arbitrarily detained in prison twelve months wanting about three weeks.

He regains
his liberty.

These specimens of George Keith's conduct in the capacity of a missionary, manifest it to be chiefly directed to vent his deep resentment against the Quakers, whereby instead of promoting, he in a great measure defeated the end of his mission; for his unreasonable prejudice and unprovoked enmity were so obvious, that instead of bringing an odium on the Quakers, as he designed, he brought great discredit and great dislike of his proceedings from the generality of the people upon himself, so that he shut up his own way from making many proselytes amongst them.

G. Keith
returns to
England,
and gets a
living in
Sussex.

He spent something more than twelve months in the itinerant exercise of his new function, and returned by way of Virginia to England, where he obtained the benefice of Edberton in
Sussex

Suffex, and there he continued his writings and C H A P.
 invectives against his former friends; but his XVIII.
 restless temper was not fully satisfied with vent-
 ing his passion against them. It was not long 1703.
 before he began to fall out with his parishioners
 about their tithes*. Not content with the accus-
 tomed income of his parish, which was reported
 to exceed 100l. per annum, he would some-
 times take the tithes in kind; sometimes let
 them to others to take in kind, meditating and
 trying every method to raise the income to the
 utmost, and extending his claim to the minutest
 articles, even to the tenth of the eggs of one
 hen, and of the scanty crops of garden roots of
 the poorest inhabitants of his parish, by which
 he estranged the affections of his hearers, who
 were quite disgusted at such instances of his avarice
 and his meanness.

He becomes
 uneasy to
 his parish-
 ioners about
 their tithes.

That he was upon ill terms with his parishioners further appears from hence, that being affected with lameness and infirmity for three years before his decease, and disabled from walking to the place of worship, he was presented by his parishioners for divers neglects;

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L

for

* These anecdotes of George Keith during his incumbency at Edberton are taken from some memoirs of John Snashall, who lived in that neighbourhood, viz. at or near Hurst-pierpoint in Suffex, who wrote them either of his own knowledge or from the information of his neighbours, who reported them as truth from their knowledge of the facts. John Snashall is characterized by his friends as a man of a very loving and courteous disposition to all: In charity universal, and a good and kind neighbour; and being a religious man, was doubtless a man of veracity. These memoirs he left in manuscript, which were preserved in the family, and communicated to me by Jeremiah Waring, junior.

CHAP. for letting the parsonage-house go to decay for
 XVIII. want of necessary repairs; for not going to
 ~~~~~ preach himself at the proper seasons, nor hiring  
 1703. a curate to officiate in his stead. In short, he  
 had so indulged his propensity to contention,  
 that he could hardly keep upon good terms  
 with any he had to deal with, whereby he  
 became despicable and disagreeable in the eyes  
 of his neighbours; many of whom would de-  
 clare, they should be glad that the Quakers  
 would take him back again, so that they might  
 be rid of so restless a spirit. Like the salt  
 that had lost its favour, and was thenceforth  
 good for nothing but to be cast out and be  
 trodden under feet of men.

Yet after all, there is reason to suppose that  
 he was favoured, particularly near his latter  
 end, with seasons of serious reflection, wherein  
 he viewed the peaceful state of his mind whilst  
 in unity and peace with the Quakers as brethren,  
 and felt remorse under the loss thereof\*. Pay-  
 ing a visit to a gentleman at Hurstpierpoint,  
 and a conversation arising concerning the Qua-  
 kers, he owned before several persons, "That  
 " since he had left them he had lost one qua-  
 " lification they had among them, that in their  
 " religious meetings *they could stop all thoughts*  
 " *which hindered their devotions*, which he very  
 " much admired he could never attain to  
 " since."

I have already related from † Alexander Arscott the acknowledgment George Keith made to Richard Hayler on his death bed, which  
 passage

\* J. Snashall.

† See vol. 3, p. 452.



passage is also thus related by John Snashall CHAP. afore said: "The 16th 1<sup>mo</sup> 17 $\frac{1}{7}$  $\frac{3}{4}$  George Keith, XVIII. "as he lay sick in bed, said, that *he did believe* "if God had taken him out of the world when 1703. "he went among the Quakers, and in that pro- "fession, it had been well with him;" which words he spoke before Richard Hayler of Stepping, who went to see George Keith, hearing he was sick.

In order to bring this disagreeable subject to Reflection. a conclusion, I am considerably advanced in time, and in the description of the whole of this man's transactions, I am not conscious of exaggerating any circumstance beyond a true state thereof, according to the authorities of cotemporary writers, some of whom, with myself, regret the occasion of dwelling upon the subject, and express the great respect they had had for him on account of his qualifications and services, believing him to have been a man truly convinced and enlightened, and in a good state, (which his afore said confessions plainly imply), but that through ambition and self-exaltation, he fell away therefrom; it being our persuasion, that a righteous man may turn from his righteousness, and that we are no longer safe than whilst we are watchful.

Now as there have been many bright examples of virtue and pure religion exhibited in this work, shewing what is most worthy of our endeavouring to attain; so here we have an example of caution, what is most carefully to be avoided, in order to preserve divine favour, the unity of the brethren, and respectful esteem of all good men: A powerful

CHAP. caution not to indulge a disposition aspiring  
 XVIII. above our proper places in religious society,  
 1703. but whatever our abilities or attainments, natural or spiritual, may be, to keep in the humility becoming dependent beings, who have nothing good, but what they have received from the fountain of all good; and if we conceive we have in any respect an advantage over some others, let us remember the apostle's reasoning, "Who made thee to differ from another, or "what hast thou that thou hast not received?"

I have ever looked upon it as a great enormity to deck ourselves with the Lord's jewels, to suffer the talents and gifts bestowed upon us, (it may be not for our own sakes, but the edification of the body), to occasion an exalted opinion of ourselves in the contemplation thereof; and still more enormous to apply the place they have given us in the estimation of our friends, to the low purposes of promoting our own interests, or seeking pre-eminence, dominion or lordship in society. May I, may my brethren and sisters in profession and in usefulness, take warning from the miscarriages of others, and be so preserved in humility, circumspection and fear, as never to exemplify in our conduct the expression of the wise man, that *pride goes before destruction, and an aspiring spirit before a fall.*

## C H A P. XIX.

*John Estaugh and Richard Gove taken by a French Privateer in their Passage to Barbadoes. — Taken into Martinico, and Occurrences there. — Thomas Chalkley visits the Shawanese and Seneca Indians. — William Penn's Epistle to the Settlers in Pennsylvania.*

JOHN ESTAUGH from Haddenfield, New Jersey, in company with Richard Gove, who embarked at Philadelphia this year, to pay a religious visit to their friends in Barbadoes, being arrived near that Island, the ship was taken by a French privateer and carried into Martinico: They were fifteen days in reaching that place, at which the master of the prize, on board of which these friends were detained, was so disturbed, that he said the hand of God was against them; and his superstitious bigotry attributed the tediousness of the passage to these two passengers, because they frequently employed the intermediate time in reading their bibles, which, therefore, he would sometimes threaten to throw overboard. The morning after their arrival at Martinico, an officer, attended by some persons of seeming rank in the island, came on board, who getting a sight of the certificates which they had received from their respective monthly meetings, according to the good order used in this society, and which one of the company interpreted to the rest, their friends therein having

C H A P.  
XIX.  
1704.  
J. Estaugh  
and R.  
Gove, on  
their pas-  
sage to Bar-  
badoes,  
taken by a  
French pri-  
vateer and  
carried into  
Martinico.

CHAPTER. having expressed their desire, “ that they might  
 XIX. “ be preserved out of the hands of unreason-  
 able men :” upon the reading of this passage,  
 1704. some of them cried out, “ see now the spirit  
 “ hath deceived you, for you are not pre-  
 “ served as they would have it.” One of them  
 answered, “ the spirit had not deceived them,  
 “ that what was mentioned there was the de-  
 “ sire of their friends for them, and that pro-  
 “ bably there might be some service for them  
 “ even there.” Upon which they continued  
 their humourous raillery, crying out, “ See  
 “ now! they are now come to convert the  
 “ fathers, we will bring you together and you  
 “ shall dispute it out.” But of the fathers,  
 so called, none came near to them except an  
 old Irish priest, whose province it seems was  
 to endeavour to convert the prisoners at 40s.  
 a head for every convert: The other prisoners  
 wanted him to dispute with the Quakers, but  
 he evaded it for some time; yet at length  
 entered into discourse with John Estaugh, whom  
 he found too well furnished with matter for him  
 to make much impression upon. He called him  
 a *heretick*, and turned to his companion, who  
 taking his bible, opened it in the text, “ *be-*  
 “ *ware of false prophets:*” Which provoking  
 the priest, he endeavoured to wrench the bible  
 with violence out of his hands, not without  
 leaving marks of his violence behind, which  
 ended the dispute; but the other prisoners de-  
 termined it plainly in favour of the Quakers,  
 with whom they said he was not able to dis-  
 pute.



The French nation in general have appeared more humane and less bigotted than most others of the Romish communion. It doth not appear that these friends, while in their hands, suffered at all upon account of their religion, or that their confinement was very rigid; they seem to have enjoyed full liberty of holding meetings, I suppose chiefly with English prisoners.

CHAP.  
XIX.  
1704.

Before they came to the island, the protestant prisoners there, we may presume, had no minister to officiate amongst them; but there was a major in one of the English regiments, who had been a prisoner there a considerable time, without being able to obtain his liberty; probably for want of a prisoner of equal rank in exchange. He had been engaged in supplying the place of a priest, by reading prayers two or three times a week to his fellow-prisoners: But since these friends arrived and held their meetings, his auditory was considerably decreased, which giving him much uneasiness, he reprimanded the people sharply for going to the Quakers meetings; but still their meetings continuing to increase, he determined at last to enter into a dispute with them.

He began with high charges, but J. Estlaugh replied with a firmness and freedom which provoked the major, instead of arguments to use unhandsome menaces, which the other disregarding, continued his argument for the information of the auditors, with so much prudent coolness and command of his temper, as conduced to allay the passion of his antagonist; and as he became moderate, the controversy grew more satisfactory:

CHAP. factory : But J. Estaugh appearing better versed  
 XIX. in the scriptures than the major, and quoting  
 1704. some text which the latter had no recollection of,  
 he conceived an apprehension that the Quakers  
 bibles were not the same with his ; but upon the  
 comparison finding them perfectly to agree, and  
 that the texts quoted were alike in both, he gave  
 up the contest, grew friendly, they parted in  
 mutual good-will, and he treated them with much  
 civility and respect during their stay in that  
 island.

When the cartel for the exchange of prisoners  
 was settled, none bound to or from Barbadoes  
 were to receive the benefit thereof. But Jonas  
 Langford, a friend of Antigua, having request-  
 ed colonel Byham, who went to Martinico for the  
 purpose of exchanging them, that if any of his  
 friends were there, he would use his interest for  
 their release ; he at his arrival finding these  
 friends, applied to the governor, and asked it as a  
 favour from him, that the two Quakers, though  
 bound to Barbadoes, might go with him to An-  
 tigua ; “ What, the two apostles,” said the go-  
 vernor, (for they had given them that name in  
 Martinico) and he consented. So they obtained  
 their liberty after a captivity of about two months,  
 in which they thought they had as great service as  
 in any other part of their journey, although they  
 had good satisfaction in Antigua, where two  
 persons were thoroughly convinced by their mi-  
 nistry. From Antigua they went by Bermudas  
 to Barbadoes, and having finished their service  
 there, returned home.

In this year Thomas Chalkley returning from  
 a visit to friends in Maryland, and having a con-  
 cern

cern on his mind to pay a religious visit to the  
 Indians at Conestigo, laid his concern before the  
 elders of Nottingham meeting, with which they  
 expressed their unity, and encouraged him to the  
 undertaking. He was joined by twelve or thir-  
 teen more and an interpreter, who took their  
 journey about fifty miles through the woods,  
 carrying their provisions along with them. They  
 were kindly received by the Indians, and upon  
 their application, for the opportunity of a religi-  
 ous meeting, they called a council, which they  
 conducted with great gravity, and in their deli-  
 beration expressed their sentiments coolly one  
 after another. Some of their women being pre-  
 sent, T. Chalkley, who was admitted to the coun-  
 cil, enquired of the interpreter, Why they intro-  
 duced women into their councils? to which  
 he replied, *some women are wiser than some  
 men.* Observing an antient grave woman who  
 spoke frequently, it excited his curiosity to make  
 particular enquiry concerning her. The inter-  
 preter informed him that she was an empress, and  
 a woman of such authority among them, that  
 they undertook nothing of consequence without  
 consulting her. That she then said, she looked  
 upon this visit to be of an extraordinary nature,  
 as the persons were not come to buy or sell or get  
 gain, but in love and regard to them, from a  
 desire of their well doing both here and hereafter,  
 and that a meeting among them might be be-  
 neficial to their young people. There were two  
 tribes of them, the Seneca's and Shawanese.  
 They had first a meeting with the Seneca's,  
 who were much affected with what they heard  
 and understood, and calling the other tribe they  
 interpreted

CHAP.

XIX.

1706.

CHAP. interpreted what they had heard to them. These  
 XIX. friends had also another meeting with the Sha-  
 1706. waneſe Indians: Their viſit was gratefully ac-  
 cepted, and the Indians expreſſed their deſire of  
 more opportunities of the like kind, which it is  
 hoped divine providence will afford them. The  
 goſpel was preached to them freely, and faith in  
 Chriſt, who was put to death by the unbelieving  
 Jews; and that Jeſus is come the ſecond time  
 without ſin unto ſalvation; and by his grace and  
 light in the ſoul, ſheweth to man his ſins, con-  
 vinceth him thereof, and delivereth him out of  
 them, and giveth inward peace and comfort for  
 well-doing. To which doctrines they gave a  
 public aſſent, but in a particular manner to  
 that of the light in the ſoul. They ſeem-  
 ed much affected and liſtened with much  
 ſeriousneſs. The benefit of the holy ſcriptures  
 was alſo largely explained and expatiated  
 upon.

In the year 1708, William Penn viſited  
 the ſettlers with a letter by his new gover-  
 nor Gookin, of which the following is an ex-  
 tract:

“ London, 28th 7<sup>mo</sup>, 1708,

“ Dear Friends and Brethren,

“ My antient love, if you can believe it, reach-  
 “ eth to you as in times paſt and years that are  
 “ gone, even in the divine root and principle of  
 “ love and life, that made us near to one another  
 “ above all worldly conſiderations, where our  
 “ life,



“ life, I hope is hid with Christ in God our fa- C H A P.  
 “ ther, so that when he appears we shall also ap- XIX,  
 “ pear with him in glory, and in the mean time  
 “ through us to those that love and wait for  
 “ his appearance, as the desire of nations; that  
 “ we may glorify God his and our everlasting  
 “ father, in our bodies, souls and spirits: In  
 “ temporal and eternal affairs, being indeed none  
 “ of our own, for so much as we are our own,  
 “ we are none of the Lord’s: A great mystery,  
 “ but a great truth, and of absolute necessity to  
 “ witness, to be of the number of the chosen na-  
 “ tion, the peculiar people and royal priesthood  
 “ of Christ and his glorious kingdom.

“ Oh, my dear friends! let all below this keep  
 “ on the left hand, and wait to feel those blessed  
 “ things to inherit the right hand, and in faith  
 “ and courage cry aloud to the Lord for his re-  
 “ newing and refreshing power, that may revive  
 “ and reform his work upon our hearts and  
 “ minds, and our humility, meekness, patience,  
 “ self-denial and charity, with a blameless walk-  
 “ ing, may plainly appear, and manifest the  
 “ work of God upon our hearts to those that  
 “ are without, which is not only the way to  
 “ bring up the loiterers and gather in the care-  
 “ less ones to their duty, but fetch home and  
 “ bring in the strangers, and the very enemies  
 “ of the blessed truth, to confess and acknow-  
 “ ledge that God is in you and for you of a  
 “ truth.

“ In the first love I leave you, committing  
 “ you and yours, and all the Lord’s people  
 “ amongst you, my own family and affairs, to  
 “ the merciful providence and orderings of our  
 “ great

- C H A P. “ great and gracious God, that welcomed us in  
XIX. “ poor America, with his excellent love and  
1708. “ precious light, and will I hope once more, and  
“ remain your loving faithful friend,

“ WILLIAM PENN.”

“ Herewith comes your school charter.”

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H I S T O R Y  
O F T H E  
P E O P L E C A L L E D Q U A K E R S .

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B O O K VII.

From the ACCESSION of GEORGE I. to the  
end of the Reign of GEORGE II.

C H A P. I.

*King George I. ascends the Throne of Great Britain.  
—Address of the People called Quakers to him.—  
G. Whitehead's speech to the Prince of Wales.—  
Act for our Affirmation renewed.—Rebellion in  
Scotland.—Quelled.—Quakers' Address upon  
that Occasion.—Life and Character of Samuel  
Waldenfield.*

IMMEDIATELY after Queen Anne's de-  
cease, the privy council assembled, and the Earl  
of Dorset was appointed to carry to Hanover the  
information of the king's accession ; who soon af-  
ter left his German dominions, repaired to Eng-  
land, and arrived in London the 20th of Septem-  
ber.

C H A P. I.  
1714.  
King Geo. I.  
ascends the  
throne.

CHAP. ber. After his arrival, having declared in council his firm purpose to maintain the toleration in  
 I. favour of protestant dissenters, whereby they  
 1714. were relieved from the apprehensions they had conceived, by the measures pursued in the close of the late reign; many addressees of congratulation were presented to him, and on the 3d of October one was sent up from the people called Quakers, which was delivered by George Whitehead, accompanied by several friends, who were introduced by Lord Townsend, one of the secretaries of state. When George Whitehead presenting the address to the King, he introduced it with this preface, "We are come in behalf of  
 " the people called Quakers, to present to King  
 " George our address and acknowledgement;  
 " may it be favourably received." After which Joseph Wyeth read it as followeth:

" To George, King of Great Britain, &c.

" The humble Address of the people commonly  
 " called Quakers.

" Great Prince,

Address of  
 the people  
 called Qua-  
 kersto King  
 George.

" It having pleased Almighty God to deprive  
 " these kingdoms of our late gracious Queen, we  
 " do in great humility approach thy royal pre-  
 " sence, with hearts truly thankful to Divine  
 " Providence for thy safe arrival with the prince  
 " thy son; and for thy happy and uninterrupted  
 " succession to the crown of these realms, which,  
 " to the universal joy of thy faithful subjects,  
 " hath secured to thy people the protestant suc-  
 " cession



“cession, and dissipated the just apprehensions  
 “we were under of losing those religious and  
 “civil liberties which were granted to us by  
 “law in the reign of King William III. whose  
 “memory we mention with great gratitude and  
 “affection. We are also in duty obliged, thank-  
 “fully to acknowledge thy early and gracious  
 “declaration in council, wherein thou hast, in  
 “princely and christian expressions, manifested  
 “thy just sense of the state of thy people, and  
 “which we hope will make all degrees of thy  
 “subjects easy.

“And as it hath been our known principle  
 “to live peaceably under government, so we  
 “hope it will always be our practice, through  
 “God’s assistance, to approve ourselves, with  
 “hearty affection, thy faithful and dutiful sub-  
 “jects.

“May the wonderful counsellor and great  
 “preserver of men guide the king by  
 “his divine wisdom, protect him by his  
 “power, give him health and length of  
 “days here, and eternal felicity hereaf-  
 “ter. And so bless his royal offspring,  
 “that they may never fail to adorn the  
 “throne with a successor endowed with  
 “piety and virtue.”

To which the King returned the following  
 Answer :

“I am well satisfied with the marks of The King’s  
 duty you express in your address, and you Answer,  
 “may be assured of my protection”

After

CHAP. After the address was read, George White-  
 I. head spoke to this effect :

1714.

“ Thou art welcome to us, King George,  
 “ we heartily wish thee health and happiness,  
 “ and thy son the prince also. King William  
 “ III. was a happy instrument in putting a stop  
 “ to persecution, by promoting toleration, which  
 “ being intended for the uniting of the king’s  
 “ protestant subjects in interest and affection,  
 “ it hath so far that effect, as to make them  
 “ more kind to one another, even among the  
 “ differing persuasions, than they were when  
 “ persecution was on foot. We desire the king  
 “ may have further knowledge of us and our inno-  
 “ cency ; and that to live a peaceable and quiet  
 “ life in all godliness and honesty, under the king  
 “ and his government, is according to our prin-  
 “ ciple and practice.”

When George had thus spoken, his name was asked, which he told ; and having a desire to see the prince, one of his gentlemen introduced these friends into a chamber, where the prince met them, to whom George spoke as follows :

G. White-  
 head’s  
 speech to  
 the Prince.

“ We take it as a favour that we are thus  
 “ admitted to see the Prince of Wales, and  
 “ truly are very glad to see thee ; having de-  
 “ livered our address to the king thy royal fa-  
 “ ther, and being desirous to give thyself a visit  
 “ in true love, we very heartily wish health  
 “ and happiness to you both ; and that if it  
 “ should please God thou shouldst survive thy  
 “ father and come to the throne, thou mayst  
 “ enjoy tranquillity and peace. I am persuaded,  
 “ that

“ that if the king thy father and thyself do stand CHAP  
 “ for the toleration for liberty of conscience to be I.  
 “ kept inviolable, God will stand by you. May  
 “ king Solomon’s choice of wisdom be thy choice, 1715.  
 “ with holy Job’s integrity and compassion to  
 “ the oppressed, and the state of the righteous  
 “ ruler commended by king David, viz. “ *He*  
 “ *that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in*  
 “ *the fear of God, and he shall be as the light*  
 “ *of the morning when the sun riseth, even a*  
 “ *morning without rain, as the tender grass*  
 “ *springing out of the earth by clear shining after*  
 “ *rain.*”

This speech was favourably received.

In the next year 1715 the term of the act Affirmation  
 for accepting the solemn affirmation of the act renew-  
 ed.  
 people called Quakers being nearly expired,  
 a bill was brought into the house of commons  
 on the 7th of third month, O. S. commonly  
 called May, for renewal thereof, which was  
 passed by the said house without limitation of  
 time, and consequently was made perpetual.  
 In the house of lords an additional clause was  
 inserted, that the like indulgence should be  
 extended to the northern part of Great Bri-  
 tain, called Scotland, and to the plantations  
 belonging to the crown of Great Britain for  
 five years, and to the end of the next session  
 of parliament. This amendment was agreed to  
 by the commons, and received the royal assent  
 the last day of the same month. But the affir-  
 mation was yet continued in the original form,  
 which many friends still scrupled to avail them-  
 selves of, by reason of their apprehensions

CHAP. that it appeared too near the nature of an  
I. oath.



1715.

Yet the favourable disposition of the present soveraign and the present government towards this people, made deep impressions of gratitude on their minds, which drew from them the following exhortation in their epistle, from the yearly meeting held in London about that time :

Extract  
from a  
yearly  
meeting  
epistle.

“ The Lord our God, who for the sake of  
“ his heritage, hath often heretofore rebuked  
“ and limited the raging waves of the sea,  
“ hath, blessed be his name, mercifully dis-  
“ persed the cloud threatening a storm, which  
“ lately seemed to hang over us ; which together  
“ with the favour God hath given us in the  
“ eyes of the king and the government, for  
“ the free enjoyment of our religious and civil  
“ liberties, call for true thankfulness to him.  
“ And humbly to pray to almighty God for  
“ the king and those in authority, for his  
“ and their safety and defence, is certainly our  
“ christian duty, as well as to walk inoffensively  
“ as a grateful people.”

The change of ministers and measures in the latter end of the late reign had created much dissension amongst the people ; and while a cry was raised for the populace to follow, that *the Church was in danger*, many began to fear that the protestant succession was in danger, and the partisans of the late King James flattered themselves with hopes, that way might be made for the Pretender to obtain the Crown ; but the sudden death of the Queen damped  
their



their sanguine expectations; for the friends to the house of Hanover took their measures so wisely, that George the First was immediately proclaimed King as already intimated. Yet notwithstanding his justice and mildness, the disappointed party retained and fomented discontent, and endeavoured to disturb his government. The clamour of the church's being in danger was revived; jealousies were excited, seditious libels dispersed, and the populace stimulated to riot and hatred of the dissenters,\* by which means, when they hoped the num-

M 2

ber

C H A P.

I.

1715.

\* Thomas Story in the course of his travels came to Oxford on the 28th 3<sup>mo</sup> (called May) this year, and gives the following account of a riot in that city, "That in the evening a great mob of scholars and others arose, and gutted (as they called it) the Presbyterian meeting house, that is, they broke all the windows, doors, benches, wainscots and seats, carrying them away, and burning and destroying them, which made a great uproar in the city.

"Friends having heard that they intended to use our meeting-house as they had done that of the Presbyterians, an advertisement thereof was drawn up in writing, directed to the mayor, and sent by a friend; but the mayor being absent at the time, it was left with his servant, who promised to give it him as soon as he came: It contained also a request to the mayor, to protect us against the intended violence, as the chief civil magistrate of the city; but we received no benefit by our application, as the sequel proved.

"After the meeting we returned to our quarters; and about nine in the evening, hearing a great noise of the mob at a distance, we had soon an account that they were using our meeting-house, as they had done that of the Presbyterians the night before: They broke in by violence, and took away all the forms and seats that were loose, and such as were fast round the house they broke; they took away the doors also off the hinges, and burned them, with part of the wainscot, in their bonfire: They broke the windows and flanchers, and the room next the meeting-house they abused

" and

CHAP. ber of male-contents was sufficiently encreased,  
 I. they began to act more openly.

The

1715.

“ and defaced, so that the whole was all ruined and destroyed  
 “ except the walls and tiling. Yet all this did not cool their  
 “ rage, for they broke into the dwelling-house of our anti-  
 “ ent friend Thomas Nichol’s daughter, who was a widow,  
 “ where Thomas also was ; and under pretence of searching  
 “ for a young nobleman, who, they said, was murdered and  
 “ hid there, or somewhere thereabout (though there was no  
 “ such thing at all, only they put on this senseless cover for  
 “ their wickedness). They broke all the windows, and threw  
 “ in some hundred weight of stones and dirt, covering the beds  
 “ therewith, breaking several things in the rooms, making  
 “ great destruction and shedding some blood. From thence  
 “ they went to the Baptist meeting-house, and destroyed it in  
 “ like manner ; and as they came up the street from that piece  
 “ of mischief, I lodging with young Thomas Nichols, we ex-  
 “ pected the same usage as the widow, his sister, had met  
 “ with, and therefore got for safety into the stair-case, he,  
 “ his wife and little children, my companion and I, and there  
 “ sat out of the way of the stones : and as they came up to the  
 “ house, they let fly their volley, broke all the windows, and  
 “ passed on without doing any more harm : But this I observ-  
 “ ed, that as Satan raged in them before they came, blowing  
 “ them up into a temper fit for the action, Truth in our minds  
 “ filled us with divine love and consolation, so that we were  
 “ without any fear or amazement of what they could do far-  
 “ ther. By the time all was over, it was about two in the  
 “ morning ; and there came in some of the sober neighbours,  
 “ who gave us some of the mob’s unreasonable reasons for  
 “ their violence and outrage, as they had collected them, in  
 “ discoursing with some of them. They said that some of the  
 “ low party, on the seventh day afternoon, being at a tavern  
 “ in town, there drank healths and confusions ; and talked of  
 “ burning the late Queen’s picture and Sacheverel’s, and in  
 “ revenge of this, they gutted the Presbyterian meeting-house,  
 “ and their pretence for using us in the same manner was, be-  
 “ cause we voted for the low members of the present parlia-  
 “ ment.”

I have

This spirit of turbulence and disaffection soon broke out into open rebellion in Scotland, and the national discontent was, by his partisans, so exaggerated to the Pretender, as to induce him to make preparations to put himself at the head of the insurgents, in which he was privately assisted by Lewis XIV. King of France, who dying about this time, the rebellion lost its support from that kingdom. The Duke of Orleans being appointed Regent during the young king's minority, had entered into engagements with king George, and is supposed to have rather contributed to defeat than to promote it. However, the Pretender at last landed in Scotland and was crowned there. C H A P. I. 1715. Rebellion in Scotland. The Pretender lands there.

But

I have no doubt but rumours of this kind might be circulated by the contrivers and instigators of this tumult ; but it seems to be principally intended, as an act of celebrating the festival of the *Restoration*, it being on the 29th of 3<sup>mo</sup>, O. S. called May, and also the first day of the week, on which day, considering the temper of the time (of which this riot is but one specimen) and the spirit of many of the public teachers, and the usual topics insisted on in their discourses on this day, it is rather more than probable, their sermons had no tendency to allay this ferment, but the contrary.

Thomas Story proceeds, " We went the next morning to view the ruins of our meeting-house, and our friend Nichols's ; and as we were at the former, I stood upon a small eminence, and looking over the ruins (many scholars and other people being there) I said pretty loudly, so that all might hear, *can these be the effects of religion and learning !* Upon which several of the scholars hung down their heads ; but none answered. Then Thomas Nichols, the younger, made a short speech, but very close, reminding them of Sodom and Gomorrah, that it was the same spirit that now wrought in them, which brought destruction on those cities : To which they replied, it was the mob, and it was ill done ; but some others said, they themselves were that mob, and would be met with one day."

CHAP.

I.

1715.

Rebellion  
quelled.

But previously to his arrival, one party of the rebels having entered England, and advanced to Preston in Lancashire, were there besieged, defeated and taken prisoners; and the same day their main body under the command of the Earl of Marr, met with a check, whereby they were dispersed. The Pretender's expectation thus failing, and finding no probability of drawing together an army sufficient to withstand the forces advancing against him, he sought security in a speedy retreat to France, which put an end to the rebellion.

This rebellion, thus successfully exterminated, brought many addresses of congratulation to the king, and among the rest the people called Quakers drew up an address from their yearly meeting, which they presented to the king on the last day of the third month, O. S. called May, this year; being introduced by the Earl of Manchester, G. Whitehead spake in substance as followeth:

That in the annual assembly held for the religious concerns of their society, endeavouring to promote and put in practice the duties of religion professed by them, the sense of the great deliverance had such a weight upon their minds, that they were willing to express it in an address to King George, whom God by his providence had brought hither and preserved, so that he could well say, he was *George by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, &c.* And that as men carried that saying stamped on the money in their pockets, so it was to be wished it might be imprinted in the hearts of the subjects.

Hereupon



Hereupon the address was presented and read as follows : CHAP. I.

• “ To George, King of Great Britain, &c. 1715.

“ The humble Address of the People called  
 “ Quakers, from their yearly Meeting in  
 “ London, the 26th day of the third month,  
 “ called May, 1716.

“ May it please the King,

“ WE thy faithful and peaceable subjects, Quakers address upon this occasion.  
 “ being met in this our annual assembly, do  
 “ hold ourselves obliged, in point of principle  
 “ and gratitude, rather than by formal and  
 “ frequent addresses, humbly and openly to  
 “ acknowledge the manifold blessings and kind  
 “ providences of God, which have attended  
 “ these kingdoms ever since thy happy accession  
 “ to the throne.

“ And as our religion effectually enjoins us  
 “ obedience to the supreme authority, so it  
 “ is with great satisfaction we pay it to a  
 “ prince, whose justice, clemency and modera-  
 “ tion cannot but endear, and firmly unite  
 “ the hearts and affections of all his true protes-  
 “ tant subjects.

“ We are therefore sorrowfully affected with  
 “ the unhappiness of those our countrymen,  
 “ who have so little gratitude or goodness as  
 “ to be uneasy under so just and mild an ad-  
 “ ministration ; nor can we reflect on the late  
 “ unjust and unnatural rebellion, without con-  
 “ cluding the promoters and actors thereof were  
 “ men infatuated and hurried by such an evil  
 “ spirit,

CHAP. “ spirit as would lay waste and destroy both the  
 I. “ civil and religious liberties of these protestant  
 “ nations

1715. “ And as God, the Lord of Hosts, hath most  
 “ signally appeared to the confounding that  
 “ black conspiracy; so we pray his good pro-  
 “ vidence may always attend the King’s coun-  
 “ cils and undertakings, to the establishing his  
 “ throne in righteousness and peace, and making  
 “ his house a sure house.

“ Permit us therefore, great Prince, to lay  
 “ hold of this opportunity to approach thy royal  
 “ presence, with our hearty thanks to the king  
 “ and great council for all the privileges and li-  
 “ berties we enjoy. To behold a prince upon  
 “ the throne, solicitous for the ease and happiness  
 “ of his people beyond any other views, so  
 “ heightens our satisfaction and joy, that we  
 “ want words to express our full sense thereof.  
 “ And therefore we can do no less than assure the  
 “ king, that as it is our duty to demean ourselves  
 “ towards the king’s person and government  
 “ with all faithful obedience, so we are deter-  
 “ mined, by divine assistance, devoutly and  
 “ heartily to pray the God and Father of all our  
 “ mercies, to vouchsafe to the king a long,  
 “ peaceable and prosperous reign; and that when  
 “ it shall please the Almighty to remove from us  
 “ so precious a life, by taking it to himself,  
 “ there may not want a branch of thy royal fami-  
 “ ly endowed with wisdom and virtue to fill the  
 “ throne, till time shall be no more.”

To which address the King returned the follow-  
 ing Answer,

“ I thank you for the assurance of duty and  
 “ affection to my person and government, con-  
 “ tained

“ tained in this address; and you may always CHAP.  
 “ depend upon my protection.” I.

1715.

This year died Samuel Waldenfield, a member and minister of this society, highly esteemed for his virtuous conversation and his religious services, both in the city of London and its neighbourhood, and other parts where he was well known. He was born about the year 1652 at Edmundsbury in Suffolk; was religiously inclined from his youth, and for some time a hearer of the independents.

He was convinced of the principles of the people called Quakers, by the powerful ministry of Giles Barnadiston, and received the truth in the love thereof; as he became obedient to the grace of God to which he was recommended, he was instructed and enabled thereby to lead a sober and godly life, and to possess his earthly tabernacle in sanctification and honour.

About the year 1672 he was called to the work of the ministry, in the discharge whereof he was zealous and indefatigable. He travelled in this service in England, Scotland, Ireland and Germany, by an account he kept, near 40,000 miles to the year 1703, and considerably from that time to his death; and his lively ministry, through the divine blessing prospering his labours, was made effectual to the conviction of many, and turning them from darkness unto light, who were as seals to the efficacy thereof.

In the year 1684 he married and settled in London, and continued faithful and diligent in the work to which he was called, when at liberty; for although by the time he became a resident in London and eminent for service in the society, persecution

C H A P. persecution was abated, he did not escape a share  
 I. in the sufferings of the season. At the sessions  
 1715. held at the Old Baily in the 10th month 1683, he,  
 in company of fundry others, who, with him,  
 had been taken from a peaceable meeting in  
 White-hart-court, was tried for a riot, and by a  
 jury of this age, when juries were modelled to  
 the temper and influence of the bench, was, with  
 the rest, brought in guilty, fined 5*l.* and com-  
 mitted to prison for non-payment. A prosecution  
 was also commenced against him on the statute 23  
 Eliz. for 20*l.* a month for absence from the esta-  
 blished worship in the year 1686; but by \* King  
 James's order to the Attorney General, a stop  
 was put to that prosecution and others of the kind,  
 as before related.

After this he continued frequent in his travels  
 abroad, in religious visits to his friends in most  
 of the counties of England, and more frequently  
 in the eastern parts. Being clear in expression,  
 animated with lively zeal, and reaching the wit-  
 ness in the consciences of friends and others, his  
 ministry was very acceptable and edifying, by  
 means whereof, and of his solid, circumspect and  
 exemplary conversation, adorning and confirm-  
 ing it, he obtained the esteem of his friends  
 abroad and at home.

In or about the year 1706, declining in health,  
 he removed his residence from the city of Lon-  
 don to Bush-hill in Middlesex; yet when the  
 state of his health admitted, he continued his  
 travels and his assistance with friends of the city,  
 in their service for the relief of their suffering  
 friends, and when disengaged from such services,  
 he

\* See vol. 3, p. 167.



he was exemplary in a constant attendance of the meetings adjacent to him. CHAP.  
I.

He was eminently serviceable in the discipline of the society, as well as in his public ministry, having a zealous concern on his mind for the preservation of friends in a consistency with their profession, that the testimony of truth might be kept up in all the branches thereof; that pride and libertinism in principle and practice might be discouraged and suppressed: That those who act as rulers in the church, should be men of truth, fearing God and hating covetousness; and that all the members of the society might be careful to maintain justice and truth in all their dealings amongst men. 1715.

His circumspect conduct adorned his profession of religion, and acquired reputation to the society of which he was a member, so that many, who through prejudice, had entertained an unfavourable and contemptuous opinion of it, by their acquaintance and conversation with him, were brought to change their sentiments concerning it.

He was confined about two months before his decease, and although his pain was often great, he was supported with remarkable patience, and was frequently very cheerful, though his end drew near; for death was no terror to him, the sting thereof being taken away, having the comfortable evidence, that he had through life been mindful of his final change, and ordered his conversation with a view to make it a transition to everlasting felicity. So that in the retrospection of his past time he could say, as he did in much tenderness, *I have done the work of my day; I feel peace of conscience; I have wronged no man; I have*

CHAP. *have received a great deal of wrong and injury,*  
 I. *but I forgive all, and I desire the Lord to forgive*  
 ~~~~~ *them also. I die in charity with all the world.*  
 1715. *At another time he said, I have endeavoured to*
live inoffensively towards God and Man. And now
I have no occasion to repent that I have endeavoured
to live well; and as I have nothing to boast of, I
have no occasion to complain. All is well.

Many other lively expressions and weighty exhortations he uttered, very affecting and edifying to those to whom they were addressed. He continued in a serene composed frame of mind to the last, and died in great peace the 7th of the 8th month 1715, and left a good report behind him: And being greatly beloved, and much respected by people of divers professions, his funeral had a numerous attendance from Devonshire-house meeting place, to the burial ground at Bunhill-fields.

C H A P. II.

Affirmation Act renewed.—Measures of Government to moderate party heats.—Bishop Hoadly's two Sermons and proceedings thereupon.—Repeal of Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts.—South Sea Scheme.—Petition to Parliament for a form of Affirmation which might be easy to all Friends.—Solicitations to procure the passing of an Act for that purpose.—Passed by the Commons.—Warmly debated in the House of Lords.—Petition against it.—Passed by the Lords.—Yearly Meeting's acknowledgment of the favour.—Epistle of Caution concerning the use thereof.—Account of Geo. Whitehead.—Case of some Friends in New-England appointed to assess Taxes.—Death of King George I.

THE passing of the Act of Toleration, and the effectual establishment thereof under the legal rule of the Princes of the Hanoverian line, having exempted the people called Quakers of this age from most of the grievous sufferings to which those of the preceding age were exposed; and having thereby obtained a settlement in quietude, their affairs furnish fewer materials for history than heretofore: yet there still remained some subjects of suffering from which the Toleration did not exempt them, particularly their scruple to pay tithes and other ecclesiastical demands. And although the legislature had in some degree endeavoured to give them ease in respect to swearing,

C H A P.
II.
1715.

C H A P.

II.

1715.

Affirmation
act renew-
ed.

Measures of
government
to moderate
party heat.

ing, yet the form of affirmation prescribed by the first affirmation-act, and continued in the succeeding acts, as before observed, was so uneasy to a considerable part of the society, that they had not freedom to make use thereof, and therefore submitted to the attendant inconveniencies, rather than wound the peace of their own minds.

In 1715 the act for accepting the solemn affirmation was renewed without limitation of time; although the yearly meeting directed an application to be made to parliament, to grant the society a form of affirmation which might be easy to all friends, the temper of the time did not yet favour such a concession: An opportunity for further relief did not occur till the year 1721. In the intermediate time, the king (and the rulers under him) perceiving the disaffection of the party distinguished by the denomination of high-church and tories, and their propensity to stir up those riots and tumults which had, since the beginning of his reign, been nourished and fomented to perplex his government, disturb the public peace, and finally terminated in the late rebellion in favour of a popish pretender: And after it was quelled, their endeavours being still exerted to keep alive a spirit of discontent, it was judged necessary to clip the wings of the high-flying ecclesiastics in particular, by imitating the judicious conduct of the late King William, in selecting the most temperate and dispassionate men amongst them to fill the dignities and highest stations in the church; who being men of moderation themselves, might be instrumental to diffuse a spirit of greater moderation among the inferior orders, than they had hitherto manifested;

ed ; or to discountenance and check the violence of their disposition to revive and keep alive party heats. C H A P. II.

One of these exerted his talents for this purpose in a particular manner. Benjamin Hoadly bishop of Bangor, a man of liberal sentiments, a clear head, and sound understanding, had published two performances, which had given great offence to his brethren the clergy ; especially those who were jealous of every prerogative to which they advanced their groundless claims. One was entitled, *A preservative against the principles and practices of the nonjurors*. The other was a sermon preached before the King at the chapel royal, under the title of *the nature of the Kingdom of Christ*, in which, I have understood, the two principal points insisted upon are, that the ministers of the gospel, as such, have no authority to busy themselves in secular government ; nor the magistrate to punish men for matters of religion, which, although considered dispassionately, are almost self-evident propositions ; yet at this time, when the people's passions were more consulted than their reason, and violently heated in favour of high-church, these discourses roused the whole host of high-priests to combat propositions the most reasonable, which they imagined had a tendency to expose the illegality of their claims. The lower house of convocation, when they met, took up the matter with marks of great offence and resentment, and appointed a committee of six of their members to examine the Bishop's publications, who drew up a representation, in which the *Preservative* and *Sermon* were censured, ^a as “ tending to subvert all government “ and

1717.
Hoadly's
two ser-
mons, and
proceedings
thereupon.

^a Smollet.

CHAP. “ and discipline in the church of Christ ; to re-
 II. “ duce his kingdom to a state of anarchy and
 ~~~~~ “ confusion ; to impugn and impeach the royal  
 1717. “ supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, and the  
 “ authority of the legislature, *to enforce obedience*  
 “ *in matters of religion by civil sanctions.*” How  
 far their indignation against this liberal prelate  
 and his rational doctrine might have carried them,  
 they were deprived of the power of discovering ;  
 for the king and his ministers seem to have con-  
 ceived a more favourable opinion of the Bishop  
 and his performances, and therefore rescued him  
 out of their hands, by an immediate prorogation  
 of the convocation, which hath not been permit-  
 ted to sit and do business since that period.

This inflamed the controversy ; but the bishop  
 being now upon equal terms with his antagonists,  
 who were a numerous body, and having truth and  
 reason on his side, ably defended himself and his  
 doctrine against them all, with manifest advan-  
 tage. This controversy, wisely conducted on  
 his part, tended to open the eyes of many peo-  
 ple, to see the invalidity of clerical claims to un-  
 authorized dominion and power, and proved a  
 very seasonable antidote to that spirit of tumult  
 and intemperate riot, which, through their insti-  
 gation, had long infected the injudicious rabble  
 and others to public disorder and private in-  
 jury.

1718.  
 Repeal of  
 the acts  
 against oc-  
 casional  
 conformity  
 and the  
 growth of  
 schism.

In the succeeding year the high-churchmen  
 met with another mortification, by the repeal of  
 the act against occasional conformity and the  
 growth of schism, which two acts they had pro-  
 cured during their predominancy in the latter  
 end of Queen Anne’s reign, which the bishop  
 of

of Bangor (in the debate) considered in effect CHAP.  
 “ persecuting laws, because, by admitting the II.  
 “ principle of self-preservation and self-defence 1718.  
 “ in matters of religion, all the persecutions  
 “ maintained by the heathens against the pro-  
 “ fessors of christianity, and even the popish  
 “ inquisition might be justified. With respect  
 “ to the power, of which so many clergymen  
 “ appeared to be so fond and zealous, he  
 “ owned, the desire of power and riches was  
 “ natural to all men; but that he had learn-  
 “ ed, both from reason and from the gospel,  
 “ that this must be kept within due bounds,  
 “ and not entrench upon the rights and li-  
 “ berties of their fellow-creatures and coun-  
 “ trymen.” This bill of repeal met with great  
 opposition from the high party in both houses,  
 but at last was passed.

These transactions tended to lessen the power  
 and influence of the high clergy and their  
 partisans: And to leave the king at liberty  
 to follow the impulse of his liberality and be-  
 nevolence, in securing to all his subjects their  
 natural rights of civil and religious liberty,  
 which encouraged the people called Quakers  
 to hope for the favourable opportunity they  
 waited for, to procure a solemn affirmation in  
 that simplicity of form, which might afford them  
 universal relief.

In this year died at his seat at Rushcomb William  
 near Twyford in Buckinghamshire, William Penn's  
 Penn, proprietor of Pennsylvania; he had been death and  
 for some years in a declining state. So long character.  
 before as the year 1712, he had three successive

VOL. IV.

N

fits,

## CHAP

II.

1718.

his, supposed to be apoplectic, by the last of which (although beyond all probability of expectation he survived it) his understanding and memory were very much impaired, so as to render him incapable of public action for the future. And notwithstanding the intermission of his intellectual faculties, and the progressive failure of his memory, his love to religion and sense of religious enjoyments apparently continued with him; for he often went in his chariot to the meeting at Reading, and there sometimes uttered short, but very sound and favourable expressions. One morning preparing to go to meeting, he expressed his desire to the Lord, that they might receive some good from him: And though he continued declining from year to year in his memory and understanding, he still expressed himself sensibly at times. In the year 1716 some of his friends, who came to visit him, taking their leave, he said, "My love is with you, the Lord preserve you, and remember me in the everlasting covenant!" Thus, in the absence of his mental powers, and in his evening repose, his piety and innocence of heart were still discernible as the predominating qualities in him.

After a continued and gradual declension for about six years, his body drew near to its dissolution, and on the 30th day of the fifth month 1718, in the 74th year of his age, his soul, prepared for a more glorious habitation, forsook the decayed tabernacle, which was interred the 5th of the sixth month following, at Jordans in Buckinghamshire.

For



For if a life of pure religion exerted actively in a constant tenour of beneficence and good will to men, faithfully discharging his relative duties, religious, moral, and political in every station of life; and passively in patient acquiescence in the divine will, and the testimony of a good conscience, in all his trials and sufferings (of which he had his share) a simple reliance on divine support under them, and on divine protection and power to work his deliverance, can recommend to the favour of God: If fighting the good fight of faith, and therein being made conquerors and more than conquerors over all our spiritual enemies through him that loved us, entitle, in any wise to the crown of righteousness, can we doubt his being made a partaker of the promise of Christ; Rev. 3. 21. "To him that overcometh, will I grant to sit with me in my throne, as I also overcame and am set down with my father in his throne." The account of his conviction and early troubles therein, and the outlines of his principal transactions in life have been described in course. To expatiate on the eminency of his character seems superfluous, the excellency thereof being well known and generally admitted. His writings (comprised in two volumes folio) are a standing evidence of a clear head and a good heart; the institutions of his province, of the depth of his understanding; and the undeviating integrity of his life, of the purity of his mind: and all his qualifications, natural and acquired, applied to promote the interests of religion and virtue, establish his character on a basis firmer than written panegyrics.

CHAP. The parliament being taken up with various  
 II. matters of public importance, particularly in  
 1720, the investigation of the fraudulent practice  
 in the south sea scheme\*, and relieving the suf-  
 ferers

1720.  
 South Sea  
 Scheme.

\* An historian remarks upon this era to this purport, The avarice of the times had encreased with the riches and the luxury of the nation. Commerce introduced fraud, and wealth introduced prodigality; and religion, which might in some measure put a stop to these evils, was too little regarded. The whole nation was infected with a spirit of avaricious enterprise.

*Goldsmith.*

The people called Quakers endeavoured to guard their members from the contagion, by the following cautionary advice, in the Epistle from their Yearly Meeting, 1720. "As  
 "our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ exhorted to take heed and  
 "beware of covetousness, (which is idolatry) we are concern-  
 "ed, that all professing christianity among us may take heed  
 "of pride, covetousness, and hastening to be rich in this world,  
 "which are pernicious, growing evils; let them be watched  
 "against, resisted and suppressed, in the fear and dread of  
 "Almighty God, and have no place or countenance in the  
 "church. O! ye grave elders, both men and women, pray  
 "be careful and watchful against these evils, and over the  
 "flock in these cases." And in the Epistle of 1721,  
 "Whereas friends were weightily concerned to advise and  
 "caution, in the last yearly Epistle, all professing with us, to  
 "take heed of pride, covetousness, and hastening to be rich,  
 "as pernicious and growing evils; which advice having not  
 "been duly regarded by some, they have been unwarily drawn  
 "into such things as have tended not only to the dishonour of  
 "God, but also their own loss and sorrow. We therefore  
 "find ourselves now again concerned, earnestly to press all  
 "friends to be diligent in the observation thereof: and to in-  
 "treat that such, who may have been so misled, may come to  
 "a due sense of it, and sincerely repent.

"And whereas, in our Epistle of 1719, we did earnestly  
 "caution against defrauding the king of his customs, duties,  
 "or excise, or encouraging such clandestine practices, by buy-  
 "ing goods reasonably suspected to be run; in which advice  
 "this

ferers thereby, the favourable opportunity the  
 people called Quakers were waiting for, to procure  
 a law for such form of affirmation, as might be  
 more universally easy to their members, did not  
 occur till the next year, when being encouraged  
 with hopes of success, they took such previous steps  
 as appeared to them expedient to facilitate the pro-  
 gress and passing of an act for that purpose.  
 The first was an application of Joseph Wyeth,  
 in a letter to the king, which it is supposed  
 was of good service to the cause, as he was well  
 known and well respected by the king, whose  
 countenance to the application was doubtless  
 greatly contributory to its success.

CHAP.  
 II.  
 1720.

1721.

The next was a petition to parliament as fol-  
 loweth :

“ The humble petition of the People called  
 “ Quakers, on behalf of such of their friends  
 “ who scruple the present form of affirmation,

“ Sheweth,

“ That they humbly beg, thankfully to re-  
 “ member, that the first legal privileges which,  
 “ as a people they were favoured with, were  
 “ granted in the reign of King William III.  
 “ of happy memory, amongst which privi-  
 “ leges

“ this meeting having in that epistle been very particular, doth  
 “ refer thereunto, and press the same again ; and that friends  
 “ do honestly and cheerfully pay their tributes to the govern-  
 “ ment, under which they enjoy protection. And as we warn  
 “ against the injustice aforesaid, so likewise against all the pro-  
 “ voking sins of this age, which draw down the heavy judg-  
 “ ments of God.”

CHAP. " leges was, that their solemn affirmation should  
 11. " in certain cases be accepted instead of an  
 1721. " oath, which being made perpetual in the  
 " first year of our present gracious sovereign,  
 " they now most gratefully acknowledge: That  
 " they also beg leave to observe, that many  
 " of their friends do conscientiously scruple  
 " the present form of solemn affirmation, where-  
 " by they have fallen under great sufferings  
 " by imprisonment or loss in their property,  
 " they being not able to answer in courts of  
 " equity, take probates of wills, prove debts  
 " on commission of bankruptcies, verify their  
 " entries on the leather or candle act, take up  
 " their freedoms in corporations, be admitted  
 " to their polls on their freeholds, give evidence  
 " on behalf of others not of their persua-  
 " sion, declare their fidelity to the present go-  
 " vernment, or take the effect of the abjuration  
 " as by law required, all which they humbly  
 " conceive are hardships, which by these acts  
 " were intended to be removed and prevented.

" The petitioners therefore most humbly  
 " pray, that leave be given to bring in a bill  
 " for such form of affirmation or declaration  
 " as may remove these difficulties, which many  
 " of them lie under, or such other relief as  
 " as you in your wisdom shall see meet. And  
 " your petitioners shall pray."

The above petition was signed by one hundred and thirty two friends.

Besides



Besides these applications, others were made CHAP.

by particular friends to such members of both II.  
 houses, I presume, as they were acquainted with, had influence upon, or were apprehended to be friendly. Thomas Story, in particular, applied to the Earl of Carlisle, who readily promised his interest and influence, and desired his son, styled the Lord Morpeth, to do the same in the house of commons, of which he was a member. He advised Thomas to make his first application to the Earl of Sunderland, secretary of state, and procured him an opportunity of speaking to him. Thomas informed him, "that though the king, his ministry, and the parliament intended the people called Quakers a great favour in perpetuating the affirmation act, as it then stood, yet it did not answer the end proposed; for a great part of that people could not comply with it, the terms, in their apprehension, importing a difference from the doctrine of Christ." He then produced the form of the act, and also that which the meeting had agreed to, which, when the Earl of Sunderland had perused, he said, "You might have had the latter as soon as the former if you had applied for it; for what we did was to serve you in your own way; and you yourselves soliciting for it, we thought we had fully gratified you; and were informed that a very few of you were dissatisfied with that form, and those a sect among you, misled by Mr. Penn in disloyalty to the government and in favour to the Pretender, and who did not desire it of the present government, hoping for it by another

" in

1721.  
 Applications to solicit the passing the Act.

CHAP. " in time; and those who were satisfied with  
 II. " that form were Mr. Mead's friends, and prin-  
 1721. " cipled for the revolution and present govern-  
 " ment in the house of Hanover; and one sort  
 " called Pennites and the other Meadites."\*

To this Thomas Story replied, " This is only  
 " a calumny artfully invented to defame our  
 " society, and render the more distressed suf-  
 " fected by the king and government, that we  
 " might receive no relief; and it is a great  
 " cruelty

\* Remarks of the like kind were formerly made by King William upon the personal application of some friends to him in relation to their suffering for tithes, and preparing the way for the first Affirmation Act. Whereby we may observe how Princes are frequently imposed upon, and subjects misrepresented, frequently unknown to them, where they have no opportunity to vindicate themselves. The King in the course of their conversation, remarked, " You are a divided people and some of you disaffected to the government." To which George Whitehead and others replied, " As we are a people we are not divided, but in union. Although some have separated from us, and therefore *are not of us*, most of these were some disorderly persons, who were therefore denied by us." To the latter charge George Whitehead replied, " 'Tis an hard matter for us to enter into the private affections of persons without some overt act; whereby we do not know that any of our friends have manifested any disaffection to the government; for if we did certainly know, that any of these in communion with us, should in word or deed shew any disaffection to the present government, we should certainly disown them therein, and give testimony against them. 'Tis true we have been aspersed and misrepresented with such nicknames as *Meadites* and *Pennites*, as if we set up sect-masters among us, yet we own no such thing, but CHRIST JESUS to be our *only Master*, as we are a christian society and people." The King appeared serious and well satisfied, and befriended them in their applications for relief in both cases.

“cruelty and hardship. I do not know or ever  
 “heard of any such sect, party or parties among  
 “us, so attached to William Penn or William  
 “Mead, or any other person; for we are not a  
 “people subject to be led by sect-masters, but  
 “to follow God and Christ only in matters of  
 “religion; and as such, the denying of all  
 “oaths we believe to be a part of our duty.  
 “And as to those who are among us, who  
 “cannot comply with the present affirmation,  
 “I know they are as loyal to king George, and  
 “as true to his government, as any of his sub-  
 “jects in all his dominions; for I have lately  
 “been amongst them in a general way. And  
 “the Earl of Carlisle himself likewise knows,  
 “that many of our friends, whom he hath re-  
 “lieved by his interest, who had suffered much  
 “for non-compliance with the affirmation, were  
 “as loyal as any others.”

CHAP.  
 II.  
 1721.

The result of this conference was such as gave the friends good hope of success, as they had reason to believe the Earl of Sunderland would be their friend in their application to parliament.

Further applications were made to the duke of Somerset, the bishops of Canterbury, York, and Carlisle, who all behaved courteously; but the archbishop of York signified he could not befriend them in that case. It looks by these applications, as if the greatest opposition was expected in the house of peers.

The aforesaid petition being delivered, the house of commons complied with the request thereof; but it produced a warm debate in the house

Proposed by  
 the Com-  
 mons.

CHAP. house of peers. Several of the bishops, who by  
 II. their opposition, exceptions and amendments,  
 ~~~~~ contrived to form the affirmation into the sub-  
 1721. stance of an oath in their own opinions, as was
 Warmly de- bated in the
 house of
 Lords. confessed by some of themselves, and laid the
 foundation for the present application, exerted
 their endeavours to prevent the success thereof.
 Atterbury, bishop of Rochester,^a a man of great
 parts and great learning, but ambitious, facti-
 ous and turbulent both in church and state; the
 champion of the high church party, and a de-
 termined foe to the dissenting interest, reflected
 upon the people called Quakers upon this oc-
 casion with his accustomed acrimony, saying,
 “ he did not know, why such a distinguishing
 “ mark of indulgence should be allowed to a
 “ set of people who were *hardly christians*.”^b He
 was seconded by the Earl of Stafford, Lords
 North and Grey, and the Archbishop of York;
 these were opposed by the Earl of Sunderland,
 the Duke of Argyll, White Kennet Bishop of
 Peterborough, the Earl of Illy, and the Earl of
 Macklesfield; and the question being put for
 committing the bill, it was carried in the affir-
 mative by sixty-four against fourteen. On the
 17th, 11th. O. S. commonly called January, the
 lords were to go into a grand committee on the
 bill, but were prevented by an unexpected
 petition from some of the London clergy, which
 was presented by the Archbishop of York, and
 was as follows :

“ To

^a Burnet.

^b History of Religions.

“ To the right honourable the Lords Spiritual
 “ and Temporal in Parliament assembled.

II.
 1721.

“ The humble* petition of the Clergy in and
 “ about London, with all submission,

“ Sheweth,

“ That there is a bill now depending in
 “ your Lordships house, entitled, *An act for*
 “ *granting the people called Quakers, such a form*
 “ *of affirmation or declaration, as may remove the*
 “ *difficulties, which many of them labour under.*
 “ Which bill, should it pass into a law, as
 “ it may in its consequences nearly affect the
 “ property

Petition of
 some Lon-
 don Clergy
 against it.

* That this petition was looked upon in an unfavourable light, and as procured to serve a purpose, by many of the peers, is manifest from the conference, which Thomas Story relates, he had with the Duke of Somerset on the day the bill was passed. Thomas Story informed him, “ that as he came, “ he heard both universities intended to petition against the “ bill, as the clergy in and about London had already done, “ which might occasion much trouble and delay.” The Duke replied, “ perhaps Oxford may attempt something that way, “ being influenced by the Bishops of York, Chester, Roches- “ ter, and the rest of that sort ; but if they should, they are “ obnoxious. As to Cambridge they have done nothing, “ There are a set of fellows calling themselves the clergy in “ and about London, who have sent in a petition, wherein “ they pretend to blame both houses of parliament for encour- “ aging a sect, which they rank with Turks, Jews and other “ Infidels ; as if we were to be imposed upon by them, and “ receive their dictates, or knew not what to do without their “ directions : Besides we do not know who they are ; for there “ are five hundred of the clergy in and about London, and we “ find only forty-one names to their petition, and these very “ obscure.”

CHAP. “ property of the subject in general, so it will
 II. “ in a more especial manner, endanger the
 “ legal maintenance of the clergy by tithes;
 1721. “ inasmuch as the people called Quakers pre-
 “ tend to deny the payment upon a principle
 “ of conscience; and therefore as your petiti-
 “ oners apprehend, may be under strong in-
 “ ducements to ease their consciences in that
 “ respect, by violating them in another, when
 “ their simple affirmation in behalf of friends
 “ of the same persuasion shall pass in all courts
 “ of judicature for legal evidence.

“ However, the injuries that your petitioners
 “ in their private affairs may possibly suffer,
 “ are, as they ought to be, of small account
 “ with them, in comparison of the mischiefs
 “ which may redound to society from the in-
 “ dulgence intended, as it seems to imply, that
 “ justice may be duly administered, and go-
 “ vernment supported, without the intervention
 “ of a solemn appeal to God, as a witness of
 “ the truth of what is said, by all persons, in
 “ all cases, of great importance to the com-
 “ mon welfare; whereas your petitioners are
 “ firmly persuaded, that an oath was instituted
 “ by God himself, as the surest bond of fidelity
 “ among men, and hath been esteemed, and
 “ found to be so, by the wisdom and experience
 “ of all ages and all nations.

“ But that which chiefly moves your petiti-
 “ oners to apply to your lordships, is their seri-
 “ ous concern, lest the minds of good men
 “ should be grieved and wounded, and the
 “ enemies of christianity triumph, when they
 “ shall see such condescensions made, by a
 “ christian

“ christian legislature, to a set of men who CHAP.
 “ renounce the divine institution of Christ, II.
 “ particularly that by which the faithful are
 “ initiated into his religion, and denominated 1721.
 “ christians; and who cannot, on this account,
 “ according to the uniform judgment and prac-
 “ tice of the catholic church, be deemed worthy
 “ of that sacred name.

“ Your petitioners moreover crave leave to
 “ represent to your Lordships, that, upon the
 “ best information they can get, the instances
 “ wherein any Quaker hath refused the solemn
 “ affirmation, prescribed by an act in the seventh
 “ and the eighth year of William III. have,
 “ from the passing of that act to this day,
 “ been exceeding rare; so that there might be
 “ ground to hope, that the continued use of
 “ the said solemn affirmation would, by de-
 “ grees, have entirely cured that people of all
 “ those unreasonable prejudices against an oath,
 “ which the favour designed them by this
 “ bill may tend to strengthen and confirm.

“ And your petitioners humbly leave it to
 “ your lordships wise deliberations, whether
 “ such an extraordinary indulgence granted to
 “ a people already, as is conceived, too numer-
 “ ous, may not contribute to multiply their
 “ sect, and tempt persons to profess them-
 “ selves Quakers, in order to be exempted
 “ from the obligation of oaths, and to stand
 “ upon a foot of privilege not allowed to
 “ the best christians in the kingdom. Your
 “ petitioners therefore humbly hope, that these
 “ and other considerations which may offer
 “ themselves to your lordships great wisdom,
 “ may

CHAP. " may induce your lordships not to give your
 H. " consent to the passing of this bill into a
 " law,

1721.

" And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c."

The archbishop of York spoke in behalf of this petition, and moved that it might be read; and he was seconded by several bishops and noblemen. However, the petition was branded as a seditious libel, and rejected by the majority. On the 18th 11^{mo}. O. S. called January, the lords went into a committee on the bill, and after reading the first clause, the archbishop of Canterbury moved, that the Quakers affirmation might not be allowed in courts of judicature, but among themselves; and the archbishop of York moved for a clause, that the Quakers affirmation should not go in any suit at law for tithes; but after some debate, the question being put thereupon, was carried in the negative by fifty two voices against twenty-one; and the question being put in the house, whether the bill should pass, it was resolved in the affirmative.

The bill
 passed by
 the Lords.

By this bill the affirmation was established in this simple form, *I, A. B. do solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare and affirm* with easy relief was extended universally to the members of this society in respect to oaths, and to the inconveniencies and losses in their commercial engagements, to which, on many occasions they were liable, through their incapacity to give a legal testimony without injuring the peace of their own consciences; for which favour they
 were

were thankful, in the first place, to that divine CHAP.
Being, who turneth the hearts of Kings and 11.
Princes; and next, to the king and his minis-
ters for their particular favour, as expressed in 1721.
the epistle from their next yearly meeting 1722,
as follows :

“ We acknowledge the goodness of God, in
“ disposing the legislature to grant us, the last
“ session of parliament, such form of affirmation,
“ as, by accounts received, we find very satis-
“ factory to all the brethren; for which we are,
“ truly thankful to God, and those in autho-
“ rity. And as we are well satisfied with the care
“ of friends in London, in their addressing the
“ king thereupon, and thankful for his excel-
“ lent and favourable answer, so also with their
“ care in writing and dispersing the late epistle
“ of caution concerning the use thereof. Which
“ good advice this meeting recommends with
“ the greatest eagerness, that there be no other
“ than an honest and conscientious use made of
“ this farther indulgence granted us.”

The yearly meetings acknowledge the favour.

Of the Epistle referred to in the foregoing paragraph, this is a copy :

“ An Epistle of caution to friends in general,
“ relating to the solemn affirmation, from a
“ meeting held in London the 2d of the first
“ month, January, 1721-2.”

Epistle of caution concerning the use thereof.

“ Dear Friends and Brethren,

“ This meeting, under a weighty sense of the
“ great favour, which it hath pleased the Lord
“ to

CHAP. “ to incline the heart of the king and those in
 II. “ the government to grant us, by passing into a
 1721-2. “ law a form of solemn affirmation, which will
 “ remove the conscientious scruples many friends
 “ lay under (and thereby enable all to follow
 “ their lawful occupations, trades and concerns,
 “ without lett or hindrance on any account)
 “ doth find a concern to recommend to all
 “ friends in their quarterly, monthly, and par-
 “ ticular meetings, where this law doth or may
 “ extend.

“ That they in an especial manner have a
 “ watchful eye and oversight of their several
 “ members, that this great favour be not abused
 “ or misused by any professing truth with us.

“ Our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ
 “ told his disciples, *Ye are the light of the world,*
 “ *a city set on a hill cannot be hid.* And in every
 “ age, as many as do walk in obedience to
 “ his gospel, must unavoidably be so: *the daily*
 “ *cross and self-denial*, which he doth enjoin
 “ (those sure tokens of a christian discipline)
 “ are public marks easily seen, and readily ob-
 “ served by those with whom we have occasion
 “ of business or converse, and our transacting
 “ hereof with uprightness, justice and modera-
 “ tion, will shew that we have an awful regard
 “ to our Lord Jesus Christ, whom we acknow-
 “ ledge and declare to be our great lawgiver and
 “ example.

“ The great end and design of the new co-
 “ venant, *grace and truth*, which is come by
 “ him, is to draw men into obedience to his
 “ law written in the heart, by which only the
 “ inside can be made clean, and according
 “ to the degrees of obedience to this divine
 “ law,

“ law, which the apostle calls *the law of the*
 “ *spirit of life in Christ Jesus*, the proper effect
 “ thereof will appear, that is, the outside will
 “ be clean also. Hereby truth, justice, righte-
 “ ousness and charity, will shine forth in the
 “ words and actions of such, and then may
 “ truly be applied to them the saying of Christ,
 “ *a city that is set upon a hill cannot be hid.*

“ Beside the *inward* engagements of this di-
 “ vine law, to speak and act according to truth,
 “ there is at this time also an outward engage-
 “ ment, which the government hath laid upon
 “ us, not only by the favour of this act, but
 “ also by the manner wherein they have con-
 “ firmed it. For in the preamble it is said—
 “ It is evident that the said people called Qua-
 “ kers have not abused the liberty and indul-
 “ gence allowed them by law.’

“ Which testimony of the legislature con-
 “ cerning the use of the late solemn affirmation,
 “ upon twenty-five years experience, ought at
 “ least to stir up *all friends* to great watchful-
 “ ness and care, in the use of this further ease
 “ and relief, that this testimony may be con-
 “ tinued, and thereby confirm the government
 “ in their favourable sentiments concerning
 “ us.

“ And seeing this signal indulgence may
 “ draw the eyes and observations of many
 “ people upon us, it may be expected among
 “ these, some will look on us with an evil eye,
 “ watch for our halting, and seek occasion a-
 “ gainst us upon any mis-use or abuse of this
 “ legal privilege, which any professing truth
 “ with us, or but bearing the name, should fall
 “ into, or commit.

CHAP.

11.

1722.

“ First, therefore, that there be no misuse
 “ of this favour, we do earnestly desire
 “ and entreat, that the several meetings do
 “ advise and exhort friends that they watch
 “ against all vexatious and trifling causes of
 “ differences, and not for any such cause im-
 “ plead or commence suits of law upon the en-
 “ couragement of this solemn affirmation, for
 “ that would certainly be a perverting the good
 “ design of the government, in granting there-
 “ of, and must be deemed a great misuse of this
 “ privilege.

“ Secondly, that there be no abuse thereof
 “ committed, we do in like manner intreat and
 “ desire that friends may be exhorted and ad-
 “ vised, when any just and valuable occasion
 “ doth require any to make use of this affir-
 “ mation, that such friend or friends be very
 “ considerate and sure of the truth of what
 “ they are about to affirm; for where property
 “ or liberty are concerned, a false or corrupt
 “ evidence is very injurious, and may prove
 “ destructive; besides it ought on all occasions
 “ to be remembered, *that a false witness shall*
 “ *not be unpunished, and he that speaketh lies*
 “ *shall not escape**, and that the command, *thou*
 “ *shalt not bear false witness†*, is as well in the
 “ gospel as in the law, and that *all liars shall*
 “ *have their part in the lake which burneth with*
 “ *fire and brimstone‡*. To these inward obliga-
 “ tions on the conscience of truth speaking,
 “ there is also added the outward guard of pains,
 “ penalties and forfeitures, to be inflicted on
 “ such as shall lawfully be convicted of wilful,

* Prov. xix. 5. † Rom. xiii. 9. ‡ Rev. xxi. 8.

“ false

“ false and corrupt affirming or declaring, as if
 “ the same person had been convicted of wil-
 “ ful and corrupt perjury.

C H A P.
 II.

1722.

“ We cannot omit also to remind you, that
 “ should any under our name, so far depart
 “ from the righteous law of God, as herein to
 “ become guilty, they will thereby contract to
 “ themselves perpetual infamy, and to the
 “ body whereof they may pretend to be mem-
 “ bers, very great scandal and reproach, and
 “ such instances repeated, might provoke the go-
 “ vernment to deprive us of this great benefit.
 “ How great would be the load of guilt on any,
 “ who should be the occasion thereof!

“ Let it therefore be considered that the
 “ ground of our petitioning and soliciting for
 “ this further ease and relief was a conscien-
 “ tious scruple; how infamous therefore would
 “ it be for any who profess a scruple to swear
 “ at all, at the same time to be guilty of false
 “ affirming, and while they pretend to great
 “ degrees of purity, to fall short of common
 “ honesty; it is indeed among the highest de-
 “ grees of hypocrisy, a crime abhorred by God
 “ and man.

“ Dear friends, under the very weighty con-
 “ sideration of these things, this epistle is re-
 “ commended to you, in order to stir up all to
 “ be careful upon every occasion to prevent
 “ the many evils and mischiefs which may en-
 “ sue upon the abuse of so great a favour,
 “ which *care* we think may in some measure be
 “ answered by two or three faithful and judi-
 “ cious friends, attending the assizes and quar-
 “ ter sessions in every county, whereby they
 “ may be of service in several respects; as

CHAP. “ first, if there should come to those courts any
 II. “ pretending to be Quakers, and under that
 1722. “ pretence require to be admitted to our so-
 “ lemn affirmation, and thereby excuse them-
 “ selves from an oath, which they may hold as
 “ a great sanction, to the prejudice of an honest
 “ cause, which may suffer through such deceit ;
 “ while in truth they are not Quakers, nor by
 “ us reputed such ; here friends will be at hand
 “ to detect such impostors. Secondly, they will
 “ have service in advising any friends, who may
 “ be obliged to attend either at the assizes or
 “ sessions in any cause, wherein they may stand
 “ in need, as also to be assisting to any friend,
 “ that no impositions, or addition of words be
 “ put to the affirmation, either unwarily or de-
 “ signedly, by any officer, with purpose to en-
 “ snare.

“ To all these particulars we think it neces-
 “ sary to add, and very earnestly and tenderly
 “ to recommend to all friends, that as much as
 “ may be they avoid all disputes and differen-
 “ ces with their neighbours, and as much as
 “ possible ^d *follow peace with all men* ; and in a
 “ particular manner we do press that all dis-
 “ putes and differences between friends be avoid-
 “ ed, or if any do happen, that earnest endea-
 “ vours be used, by accommodation or equita-
 “ ble and impartial reference to end them with-
 “ out going to law, that so the rebuke of the
 “ apostle may not necessarily be applied to any,
 “ ** now therefore there is utterly a fault among*
 “ *you, because ye go to law with one another.*

^d Heb. xii. 14.

^e Cor. vi. 7.

“ Dear

“ Dear friends, these things in a christian C H A P.
 “ concern of mind we have represented, in or- II.
 “ der that all may be stirred up to an humble
 “ and faithful walking, not as knowing that any 1722.
 “ will fall short in the above particulars. *But,*
 “ *beloved, we are persuaded better things of you ;*
 “ *and things that accompany salvation, though*
 “ *we thus speak.*

“ Signed in and on behalf of the said meeting by

“ BENJAMIN BEALING.”

By an act, 22 Geo. II. 1749, * the affirma- 1749.
 tion was made perpetual, and to operate in all Affirmation
 cases, wherein by any act or acts of parliament extended to
 now in force, or hereafter to be made, an oath all cases,
 is required, although no particular or express whether
 mention be made for that purpose in such act or particularly
 or acts, with the same force as an oath, except in expressed in
 criminal cases, to serve on juries, or to bear any any act or
 office or place of profit in the government. no.

In

† Heb. vi. 9.

* In an act, intituled an act for continuing several laws, and for allowing the Quakers to make affirmation, &c. is the following clause ; “ And whereas a doubt has arisen whether the solemn affirmation or declaration of the people called Quakers, prescribed by an act made in the eighth year of the reign of his late majesty king George the first, intituled an act for granting the people called Quakers such forms of affirmation or declaration as may remove the difficulties, which many of them lie under, can be allowed and taken instead of an oath, in any case wherein by any act or acts of parliament an oath is required, unless the said affirmation or declaration be by such act or acts of parliament particularly and expressly directed to

b•

CHAP. In this year that eminent minister and service-
 II. able member of this society, George White-
 head, of the city of London, departed this life;
 1722-3. whose religious labours for the conviction and
 Account of G. White- head. edification of friends, sufferings for his tes-

be allowed and taken instead of such oath, by reason of which doubt the testimony of the said people called Quakers is frequently refused, whereby the said people, and others requiring their evidence, are subject to great inconveniencies; therefore, for removing the said doubt, be it enacted and declared, by the authority aforesaid, that in all cases wherein by any act or acts of parliament now in force, or hereafter to be made, an oath is or shall be allowed, authorized, directed or required, the solemn affirmation or declaration of any of the people called Quakers, in the form prescribed by the said act made in the eighth year of his said late majesty's reign, shall be allowed and taken instead of such oath, although no particular or express provision be made for that purpose in such act or acts; and all persons who are or shall be authorized or required to administer such oath, shall be, and are hereby authorized and required to administer the said affirmation or declaration; and the said solemn affirmation or declaration so made, as aforesaid, shall be adjudged and taken, and is hereby enacted and declared to be of the same force and effect, to all intents and purposes, in all courts of justice, and other places, where by law an oath is or shall be allowed, authorized, directed or required, as if such Quaker had taken an oath in the usual form; and if any person making such affirmation or declaration shall be lawfully convicted of having wilfully, falsely and corruptly affirmed or declared any matter or thing, which, if the same had been deposed upon oath in the usual form would have amounted to wilful and corrupt perjury, every person so offending shall incur and suffer the like pains, penalties and forfeitures, as by the laws and statutes of this realm are to be inflicted on persons convicted of wilful and corrupt perjury. Provided nevertheless, and be it enacted, that no Quaker shall, by virtue of this act, be qualified or permitted to give evidence in any criminal cases, or to serve on juries, or bear any office or place of profit in the government; any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding."

timony,

timony, and repeated solicitations to the government, under a sympathetic concern for the relief of his friends under suffering, have supplied considerable materials for different parts of this history, and thereby the present narrative of his life and actions may be comprized in a review of his early years, his convincement and his character, by his friends who were personally acquainted with him.

He was born at Sun-bigg, in the parish of Orton, in the county of Westmorland, about the year 1636, of honest and reputable parents, who gave him a good education at the free-school of Blencoe in Cumberland, where he made a considerable proficiency in those called the learned languages. As to profession of religion he was brought up in the society of the Presbyterians. But perceiving pretty early in life, about the 14th year of his age, that those people and ministers did not in life and conversation act up to the purity of their professions, he could not cordially join with them, before he had heard of the existence of such a people as those distinguished by the reproachful denomination of Quakers; and being influenced with a secret desire after something more substantial than he was yet acquainted with, was at a loss where to find what he wanted, and became even bewildered in the search.

Having about this time some religious discourse with some sober-minded young men, by whom he heard of a few people called Quakers at Sedbergh in Yorkshire, and in the barony of Kendal in Westmorland, he concluded to go to a meeting of theirs, which was held at Captain Ward's, at Sunny-Bank near Grayrig; and here

CHAP. we have an instance that a very few words spoken from a heart affected with an inward sense of a divine impression may be more effectual under divine influence, to fix the best impressions on the minds of others, than the most elaborate discourses of lettered eloquence, as a short recommendation of a little captive maid, was conducive to the healing the Assyrian captain of his leprosy. He was sensible as he sat in the meeting, of the work of the power of the Lord, reducing, humbling and contriting the spirits of the people, although but few words were spoken, affecting them with great sorrow and weeping, which he believed to be the godly sorrow which produceth unfeigned repentance; and seeing a young maid go mourning out of the meeting, he felt an inclination to follow her; he saw her sitting on the ground, with her head bowed down, and apprehending herself alone, she gave vent to the fulness of her heart, in this short ejaculation, "Lord make me clean! "O Lord, make me clean!" which he said, "did more deeply and reachingly affect my heart than what I had heard spoken in the meeting, and more than all the preaching that ever I heard from man to man."

He continued, being so persuaded in apprehension of duty, to frequent the assemblies of these people, who were as yet but few in number, in comparison of what he lived to see them, notwithstanding he met with much opposition and many hard speeches from some near relations and others, who were under the influence of the priests or preachers of the age, by whom this people was much misrepresented.

As his mind turned to the *true light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world*, he was thereby illuminated to see his inward and outward state to be in the degeneration, depraved, corrupted and alienated from the life of Christ; that he had a spiritual warfare to engage in and accomplish, and a body of sin to put off, though not grown to that maturity or strength, as in many of those of riper years, who by suffering their propensity to evil to grow habitual, are drawn into gross enormities, by which he, being in the innocency of his youth, was as yet untainted; nevertheless he now saw a necessity of being cleansed from sin, and being born again, to be redeemed not only from visible evils, but from levity, vain thoughts and imaginations, and wanderings of mind; which were so burdensome and uneasy to him, that he earnestly prayed for power to suppress and get the victory over them, and stay his mind that he might obtain inward peace.

And as he was careful to wait for it in silence and stillness, he was gradually favoured with the power he desired; the meetings he frequented, he informs us, were much spent in silence, yet as they came to experience victory over sin, and the work of sanctification advancing, they were sometimes filled with the word of life, and then from the fulness of the heart his mouth (among some others) was opened to utter a few words for edification and comfort to each other.

It was out of these meetings, frequently held in silence, he saith, the Lord was pleased to raise up and send forth living witnesses of his power and faithful ministers of the gospel in those early days in Westmorland and other northern

CHAP. northern counties ; and that he was not the least
 II. in qualification and service is abundantly manifest
 in several parts of this history.

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He was one whom the Lord had fitted and prepared by his holy spirit for the work whereunto he was called, and whereby he was one of the most able ministers of the gospel in his day. As he was deep in the experience of the work of redemption and reconciliation to God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, he was frequently opened in his testimony, to unfold the mysteries of the heavenly kingdom, in the clear demonstration of the spirit and power, dividing the word aright, to the opening of the understandings of many unacquainted with the work of pure religion; and to the comforting, confirming and establishing those, who were not unacquainted therewith, in their endeavours after a growth and advancement therein.

He was not only a zealous assertor of the true faith and doctrine of Christ in a sound and intelligible testimony ; but was frequently engaged to take up his pen in vindication thereof against adversaries and opposers, as well as on many other occasions, and was careful through a long course of life to adorn the doctrine of the gospel by a circumspect conduct and religious conversation, wherein the fruits of the spirit, love, joy, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness and temperance, did eminently shine forth, to the glory of God and reputation of his religious profession.

This christian deportment, and his affable disposition procured him respect and esteem amongst most people of all ranks, who were acquainted with his worth ; which was conducive to open
 his

his way to that part of his public service, where in he was eminently engaged, viz. in solicitation to several kings, parliaments, bishops and other persons in authority, for the relief and release of his friends suffering under severe persecution and grievous imprisonments; in exerting strenuous endeavours for liberty of conscience, and for relief in the case of oaths, in which benevolent interventions on behalf of his brethren, the foregoing pages exhibit his diligence, often through the divine blessing crowned with success.

He was a good example to the flock in all his conduct, and particularly in his diligent attendance of meetings for worship on sabbath and week days, and other meetings for the service of truth, so long as he was favoured with ability of body; zealous to support good order and discipline in the church; as he was careful to lay hands suddenly on no man, he was equally cautious not to be hasty in casting any off, while any hopes of their recovery remained; condescending to the weak, and reproving transgressors in the meekness of wisdom, for their preservation in an orderly conversation, and the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.

He was a tender father in the church, full of compassion to the poor, and sympathy with friends under affliction in body or mind; a diligent visitor of the sick, and a comforter of the mourners; active to prevent and industrious to compose differences.

Sustained by the consciousness of a well-spent life, he passed the last infirmities of age with christian patience and resignation to the divine will, *desiring but in submission thereto, to be dissolved and*

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and be with Christ, saying, the sting of death was taken away; and a little before his departure, he expressed himself to this purport, "that he had taken a review of his life, his labours and travels, that he had gone through since his first convincement, that he looked upon them with abundance of comfort and satisfaction, and admired how the presence of the Lord had carried him through all."

By a gradual decay of the earthly tabernacle, full of years, and full of peace, he passed out of this life to a better, in the 87th year of his age, the 8th day of the 1st month, commonly called March, O. S. 172 $\frac{2}{7}$, and was buried in friends burying ground, Bunhill Fields, amongst many of his ancient brethren, the 13th of the same: his funeral was attended by a very large number of friends and others.

Friends to be admitted to the freedom of corporations, upon their solemn affirmation

A friend in Chester, who had a right thereto, being refused his freedom of the city upon the solemn affirmation, and the case being laid before serjeant Cheshire, he gave the following opinion, viz. "It was resolved in the case of the King against the Mayor of Lincoln, on a mandamus, to admit one Morris to his freedom; that a Quaker ought to be admitted to his freedom, on his making a solemn affirmation or declaration, and, if refused, may properly bring his mandamus on motion in the court of King's Bench." Since which, friends who have a right, have been admitted to their freedom of corporations, upon their solemn affirmation.

1723.

This year Richard Claridge of London departed this life. He was a native of Warwickshire, the eldest son of William Claridge of

of Farmborough. His parents were sober religious persons of good reputation and good circumstance; and being members of the church of England, they brought up their son in that way, and gave him what is termed a learned education; he was continued at the grammar school till he attained a competent knowledge both of the Latin and Greek languages, and in the seventeenth year of his age was entered a student at Baliol college in Oxford. He took his degree of Batchelor of Arts in 1670, and was the same year ordained deacon; and in 1672 ordained priest in the king's chapel, Westminster, by Walter Blandford bishop of Worcester.

He was soon after advanced to the rectory of Peopleton in Worcestershire, where he taught a grammar school and kept boarders several years with considerable reputation and success. During his residence here, his own accounts inform us, he was at times actuated by a sense of duty, but not uniformly so. Sometimes he was very strict and severe in his conversation, and at other times too remiss and unguarded. Sometimes he seemed to have a zeal for God and a solicitude for the well-being of his own soul; but again this religious concern would wear away, and a state of lukewarmness to either succeeded. Yet, although he had not attained to a stability in righteousness, he was very industrious in performing the customary exercises of his office. He studied closely in composing his sermons, and delivered his compositions with an appearance of fervency and affection which were very
taking

CHAPTER taking with his auditory, by whom he was generally well esteemed.

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In this unsettled state he continued many years; but the Lord did not suffer him to continue therein, without the reproofs of his holy spirit. He was often visited by the day-spring from on high, and his candle was often lighted, though for want of due watchfulness he suffered the light to be eclipsed through transgression.

About the year 1687, the 15th of his incumbency at Peopleton, through the operation of divine grace upon his spirit, he was brought to a serious consideration of his ways, and a clearer sight of the state of his soul, what it was, and what it ought to be; under which view sin was manifested to be exceeding sinful, and his soul was sorely afflicted under the sense and burden of it. Under the weight of that godly sorrow, which leads to repentance not to be repented of, seeking rest and finding none, he took a journey to London in the month called April 1689, hoping to receive consolation and instruction from the ministry of some preachers there of great account.

He spent some weeks in London,* during which time he went to hear sundry preachers of eminence, both episcopalians and dissenters; but although some of their remarks made an impression on his mind, yet upon the whole, being too much disappointed in his view of receiving some spiritual consolation, to relieve the anxiety of his mind, he returned home again to Peopleton, where he applied himself to the work of repentance; and through di-
vine

fine assistance he was enabled to reform his conversation, and to persevere in a sober and religious deportment with more stability than heretofore.

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And now being awakened to a feeling sense of his own state, and to a diligent enquiry after the safe and sure way to salvation, he was much exercised in reading the scriptures, in order to trace it out thereby; and his understanding being illuminated by that true light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, was opened to discover that many things in the doctrine, practice, worship and ceremonies of the church of England, were not derived from this pure fountain, but were the appointments and contrivances of men, and therefore not lawful for him, not being of faith, to continue in the practice of.

The following texts often occurring to his remembrance, and being applicable to his present case, he esteemed them as spoken to himself, viz. Mat. xv. 8, 9, "This people draweth nigh me with the mouth, and honoureth me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me; *but in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.*" And 2 Cor. vi. 17, "Come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord; touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you."

Yet he found it no easy matter to yield full obedience to his convictions, so far as to leave the communion of the national church: both honour and interest lay at stake. It was a severe

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severe trial of his faith, and hard to flesh and blood, to relinquish a good living and a certain revenue, and to depend on Providence for a future support. He felt all the force of the natural reluctance in the prospect of the certain consequence of his change, that he who had been a minister of that church, well approved for wisdom and judgment near twenty years, should expose himself to contempt and reproach, and be counted as a fool by those who formerly held him in honour. These considerations retarded his resolution for some time; but his supplication to the Almighty for strength, to act faithfully to the convictions of his grace, was mercifully granted, so that in the 15th December 1691, he voluntarily resigned his parochial charge, and the income annexed thereto, into the hands of the bishop of Worcester, by a legal instrument, as he could now keep neither with a good conscience.

He had a considerable time before contracted an acquaintance with some leading men amongst the baptists in his neighbourhood, and by the conferences he had held with them, judging them to approach nearer the primitive pattern, he joined himself to their society. And, as he had foreseen, his change brought upon him many reproaches, slanders and false insinuations and accusations, so that he was even amazed at the sudden change in those men, with whom, whilst of their communion, he was in reputation for wisdom and integrity, who now represented him as scarcely entitled to the character of *common honesty*; but he
was

was strengthened by divine grace to bear re-CHAP.
proach and calumny with patience, not to re- II.
turn reviling for reviling, but to pray for his
enemies, and to commit his cause to him who
judgeth righteously. 1723.

He had not been long a member before he became a preacher amongst the baptists, not as pastor of any particular congregation, but in sundry neighbouring meetings, as his freedom or inclination drew him; sometimes at Bredon, the place of his present residence, at other times at Tewksbury, Broomsgrove, Pershore, and other places adjacent.

After he had continued in this itinerant line of preaching several months, in the 5^{mo}. 1692, he received an invitation from the baptist meeting at the Bagnio in Newgate street, London, to come and settle among them as their minister, to which he consented, and removed to London the latter end of that year, and was a very constant and diligent preacher amongst them for upwards of two years; whether he received any salary I know not, but find that at this time he took a house in George's-court, Clerkenwell, and kept a grammar school there for several years.

In the year 1695 he resigned his pastoral charge, yet still preached frequently in one or other of the baptist meetings in or about the city, refusing to be any more limited to a particular assembly, though requested thereunto by the call or invitation of the baptist church meeting in Virginia-street; but he could not comply therewith, being now convinced that a church's call was not a sufficient authority for

CHAP. preaching the gospel; that bargain and con-
 II. tract, and preaching by notes, are not autho-
 1723. rized by the holy scriptures. He continued,
 notwithstanding, to preach at times in their
 meetings some months longer, and then from
 an apprehension of the weighty nature of the
 work and his own unfitness for it, he entire-
 ly declined the function of preaching amongst
 them, and soon after began by degrees to with-
 draw from their communion. For although
 he found among them a serious remnant,
 sounder in doctrine, holier in life, and to
 have less of human invention in their worship
 than those of the national way; yet they ap-
 peared far short of that purity in faith,
 worship and discipline, by which the primitive
 christians of the apostolic age were distin-
 guished. Their dispensation, he perceived, was
 that of John, a lower dispensation, which was
 to vanish, and to give way to a higher, the
 dispensation of the spirit, which was to abide
 for ever. Here God teaches his people him-
 self.

Being thus far illuminated into the nature
 of pure and spiritual religion, he felt his mind
 affected with anxious solicitude to become more
 nearly acquainted with this higher dispensation;
 which induced him frequently in solitude and
 silence to pour out secret and sincere supplica-
 tions to the Almighty, for greater degrees of the
 illumination of his spirit, to direct him aright
 in his search after this desirable attainment,
 who was pleased by the gradual manifestati-
 ons and discoveries of his divine light to make
 him acquainted with Christ Jesus in his in-
 ward

ward and spiritual appearance in his heart. And now upon a serious enquiry into the principles and practices of the people called Quakers, and comparing them with the scriptures of truth, and the impressions upon his own mind, he found that agreement therewith, which induced him to attend some of their meetings.

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Here meeting with the satisfaction which his soul had long been in search of, finding their ministry affecting and edifying, and their meetings frequently attended with the divine presence, ministering consolation and refreshment to weary and waiting souls; as he was favoured amongst them to taste of the good word of life, and a participation of the powers of the world to come, those meetings became more and more desirable, and he quickly became a constant attender of them.

He did not upon his entering into this society appear as a minister amongst them; but being illuminated with a clear discerning of the insufficiency of external forms and shadowy administrations, he applied himself to seek after the attainment of the real substance of pure religion, waiting in humility and silence to hear the voice of Christ internally revealed.

In this state of humble silence and patient waiting upon God, he remained a considerable time, passing through the dispensation of condemnation, under which he was humbled and judged, not only in the view of past deficiencies and present shortness of purity as in the sight of God, but even for his former preaching in his own will, wisdom and time; so that he

CHAP. dared not again to open his mouth in a public assembly, until he felt himself relieved from this proving and humbling dispensation, and so far refined thereby as to witness the ministration of life and peace, and the immediate operation of the holy spirit moving him to pray or preach as he might be pleased to afford both matter and utterance. His first appearance as a minister amongst this people was in a meeting at Sarah Sawyer's in Aldersgate-street, London, the 24th of the 8th month, 1697, and above nineteen months after he had desisted from preaching among the baptists. His testimony tended to recommend a broken and contrite spirit to the debasing of self, and magnifying the grace of God, by which he had been turned from darkness to light, and enabled by living experience to testify of his goodness.

From this time to the day of his death he stedfastly continued in christian fellowship with this society as an approved minister, and an honourable and useful member, not only in his ministerial labours, but in his writings of various kinds for their edification and in vindication of their doctrines and principles.

And as he had now conscientiously declined making a gain of the gospel, or preaching for lucre's sake, he followed his occupation of instructing youth for a livelihood. In the summer of the year 1700 he removed from London to Barking in Essex, where he fixed his residence, and kept a boarding-school for some years. He removed to Edmonton in 1706, and lastly to Tottenham in 1707, where he had a considerable number of boarders, and of the children of the inhabitants

inhabitants attending his school. In the latter C H A P.
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end of the year 1713, being the 64th of his age, feeling his natural strength and activity begin to decline, and the fatigue of his employment inconvenient to the infirmities of advancing years; and having attained, through the divine blessing, a competency for his subsistence, he left off keeping school, and removed from Tottenham to George's-court near Hicks's-hall, London, where he dwelt the remainder of his days. 1723.

The act of Toleration for Protestant Dissenters having been passed some years before he joined the society of the Quakers, and the Schism Act not yet in being, it might be expected that no occasion at this time existed for bringing the members of this society under suffering, except for ecclesiastical demands; but we have ground for remark in his case, as well as many others, that the spirit of intolercancy did not terminate with the power of exercising it to the full. R. Claridge, besides repeated distraints for the demands of the Vicar and Wardens, in common with others, was subjected to much obloquy and a severe prosecution, only for endeavouring to procure an honest and reputable livelihood in that line of life for which his education had qualified him.

He had not resided long at Tottenham before he was threatened with a prosecution for keeping a school there; that lord Coleraine, and Hugh Smithson, Esq. men of great power in that place, were offended that a Quaker should keep a school in that parish, and that if he did not relinquish it, or confine himself to the reception of Quakers children only for tuition, they would give him trouble.

This

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This unreasonable requisition (which would not only deprive R. C. of the equal right of profiting by his industry in a lawful and useful calling, but the inhabitants of the advantage and natural right of procuring their children an education, wherever they might expect it would be most conducive to the children's benefit and their own satisfaction) was made, as it appeared, at the instigation of the Vicar and Curate of the parish, and the master of the free-school there, the former from bigotry, and the latter from self-interest, being sanguine for the suppression of this new seminary, by their importunities and representations to these men in power, of the dangerous consequences of a Quakers school in Tottenham, to the interests of the church and of the free-school, they excited them to second their endeavours for the suppression thereof.

First of all, the Vicar and his Curate went about from house to house, to dissuade people from sending their children to him, giving an illiberal licence to their tongues in abuse of R. C. with indecent language and opprobrious nicknames, such as the bitterness of their spirits suggested, impostor, heretic, jesuit, apostate, and such like were the terms whereby they characterised him. The Vicar further indulged his passion so far as to make him the subject of his public discourse, and railed at and reviled him in the pulpit, to the great offence of several of his hearers, who held his uncharitable proceedings in abhorrence.

Next justice Smithson sent him a summons to appear before the justices at Edmonton to take the oaths prescribed by act of parliament: He
appeared

appeared accordingly, and subscribed the declaration and profession of faith in the act of indulgence, which prevented their exertion of power to imprison as formerly, and which they wanted to do still.

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In order whereto they began to catechise him about his keeping school, and whether he had a licence from the bishop of London? to which replying, that he was informed he had a right so to do; lord Coleraine said that should be tried, and he and justice Smithson agreed in a prosecution, and threatened they would suppress his school or expend five hundred pounds. Through the whole, they discovered in their countenances, words and actions, great enmity, passion and impatience, treating him in a manner unworthy of their station or his character, below the rules of decency and common civility; and it was thought that his leaving the church, and writing in defence of the Quakers had given umbrage to some of the clergy, and that they had incited these great men to raise this storm against him.

He had been before cited to the ecclesiastical court, but the prosecution was dropped for want of a promoter: and soon after this she was served with a second citation to appear at Doctor's Commons, *to answer to certain interrogatories concerning his soul's health, and the reformation of his manners, and especially for teaching and instructing boys, &c.* where although the evidence against him amounted to no positive proof, yet it being apprehended that the court would proceed to an admonition, and in case of his persisting to an excommunication and consequent

CHAP. consequent imprisonment, it was thought expedient to remove the cause into the temporal court (so termed). A prohibition was accordingly applied for to stop proceedings in the bishop's court and obtained, whereby the cause was removed to the queen's bench, and tried before the chief justice Holt. The trial was pretty long, and the chief justice declared his opinion, that if a school-master qualified himself according to the act of Toleration he should be exempted from all the pains and penalties of all the statutes made against popish recusants and protestant nonconformists; took notice of the violence of the prosecution against the defendant; was of opinion the statutes of king James I. upon which he was prosecuted did not reach the defendant, but would not then determine, and therefore directed the jury to bring in a special verdict, which they did, finding the defendant to have taught school during two days in his house at Tottenham, High-croft, not being licensed by any archbishop or bishop, &c. and that the defendant is a Quaker, and no Popish Recusant. This verdict, and the complexion of the chief justice's opinion upon the cause and the prosecution, discouraged his antagonists from further procedure, to avoid paying costs, which would have been the case if final judgment were given against them. The issue of this cause procured R. C. exemption from any further molestation in following his honest and useful employment.

In the year 1720, when the nation was overrun with a spirit of avaricious adventure, whereby

whereby numbers became a prey to the visionary CH A P. schemes and fraudulent designs of ill-designing II. men, this friend was zealously concerned to caution his friends against being carried away with the stream. In his public testimonies, in private admonitions, exerting his endeavours to guard them against the snare, by manifesting the sin of covetousness, and the inconsistency of such an extravagant pursuit of precarious gain as then prevailed, with that state of self-denial, contentment and honest simplicity of manners, which the christian religion prescribes and establishes. And had his faithful exhortations, and those of other truly religious and judicious friends been duly regarded, the members of this society had been rescued from sharing in the deception, dishonour and disappointment which ensued.

He travelled several journeys in the work of the ministry into the neighbouring counties; but from this time the infirmities of age encreasing, he was prevented from getting far abroad (but diligently attended meetings at home while of ability) and at last was affected with a shortness of breath, attended with an inward fever, which encreased upon him to his end. During the time of his sickness he expressed to several friends that visited him, his peace and satisfaction of soul, and an humble resignation to the will of God. He departed this life on the 28th day of 2^{mo}, 1723, in the 74th year of his age, and was buried on the 3d day of 3^{mo} following, in the burying ground near Bunhill-fields, his corpse was attended from the Peel meeting-house by a numerous company of his friends and acquaintance.

The

CHAP. The friends of said meeting, amongst whom

II. he spent the last years of his life, have given testimony concerning him, that "His ministry

1723. " was sound and edifying, pressing all to purity
 " and holiness of life. His care and concern for
 " the church was great, that it might be kept
 " clean from the spots of the world. Vice and
 " immorality met with a reprovcr in him, and
 " that without respect of persons. His christian
 " gravity and judicious solidity, tempered with a
 " natural affability and sweetness of disposition,
 " rendered his conversation among his intimate
 " friends and acquaintance very profitable and
 " delightful.

" His piety towards God, his love to his neighbour, the truth and justice of his words and actions, made him as a light in the world, and gave forth a testimony to the truth, in the hearts of those who came not to hear his preaching.

" In his own private family he was a living example of virtue; an affectionate husband, a loving father, a kind and gentle master, and frequent and fervent in supplication to the Lord for the preservation of himself and his household, in the way of truth and righteousness.

" His charity to the poor was very extensive, not only to friends, but others, being a practical observer of the pure and undefiled religion, recommended by the apostle James, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world."

1724.
 Case of some
 friends in
 New-Eng-
 land ap-
 pointed to
 assess taxes.

Some friends of New England, having been appointed to assess the taxes on their respective townships, and being conscientiously scrupulous of

of assessing those laid on for the support of the presbyterian ministry, and applications for their relief having been ineffectually made to the government of that province, gave occasion to the following petition to the government at home.

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“ A petition to the King in the cause of some
“ friends under sufferings in New England.

“ To GEORGE, king of Great Britain, &c.

“ The humble petition of Thomas Richard-
“ son and Richard Partridge, on behalf of
“ Joseph Anthony, John Sisson, John Akin
“ and Philip Tabor, prisoners in the com-
“ mon jail at New Bristol in the King’s
“ Province of Massachusetts Bay in New
“ England, as also of their friends (called
“ Quakers) in general, who are frequently
“ under great sufferings for conscience-sake
“ in that government.

“ Sheweth,

“ That William and Mary, late king and
“ queen of England, by their royal charter
“ bearing date the 7th day of October in the
“ third year of their reign, did for the greater
“ ease and encouragement of their loving sub-
“ jects inhabiting said province, and of such
“ as should come to inhabit there, grant, esta-
“ blish and ordain that for ever thereafter there
“ should be a liberty of conscience allowed in
“ the worship of God to all christians (except
“ papists) inhabiting, or which should inhabit
or

C H A P. II. 1724. “ or be resident within the said province, with
 “ power also to make laws for the government
 “ of the said province, and support of the
 “ same, and to impose taxes for the king’s ser-
 “ vice in the defence and support of the said
 “ government, and protection and preservation
 “ of the inhabitants, and to dispose of matters
 “ and things whereby the king’s subjects there
 “ might be religiously, peaceably and civilly
 “ governed, protected and defended.

“ And for the better securing and maintain-
 “ ing the liberty of conscience thereby granted,
 “ commanded that all such laws made and pub-
 “ lished by virtue of said charter, should be
 “ made and published under the seal of said
 “ province, and should be carefully and duly
 “ observed, kept, performed and put in ex-
 “ ecution, according to the true intent and
 “ meaning of the said charter.

“ That those sects of protestants called pres-
 “ byterians and independents being more nu-
 “ merous in the said country than others (to
 “ whom the said charter gives equal rights) they
 “ became makers of the laws by their superior
 “ numbers and votes, and ministers of the
 “ privileges of the said charter, so as in great
 “ measure to elude the same, and disappoint all
 “ others of the king’s protestant subjects of the
 “ good and just ends of their transporting them-
 “ selves and families at so great hazard and
 “ charge; one great encouragement and in-
 “ ducement thereto being liberty of conscience,
 “ and ease from priestly impositions and bur-
 “ thens.

“ That in the year 1692 they made a law in
 “ the said province, intitled an act for the set-
 “ tlement

“ tlement and support of ministers and school-
 “ masters, wherein it is ordained, that the inha-
 “ bitants of each town within the said province
 “ shall take due care from time to time to be
 “ constantly provided of an able, learned and
 “ orthodox minister or ministers of good con-
 “ versation, to dispense the word of God to
 “ them, which minister or ministers shall be
 “ suitably encouraged and sufficiently supported
 “ and maintained by the inhabitants of such
 “ towns.

“ That the said law was farther enforced by
 “ another made in the year 1695, reciting the
 “ like aforesaid, as also by another made in the
 “ year 1715, intituled an act for maintaining and
 “ propagating religion, in which said last act
 “ the prevention of the growth of atheism, ir-
 “ religion and profaneness is suggested as one
 “ great reason of its being enacted, and the power
 “ of determining who shall be ministers under the
 “ aforesaid, qualifications is by the said law as-
 “ sumed by the general court or assembly, with
 “ the recommendation of any three of the mi-
 “ nisters of the same sect, already in orders,
 “ and settled and supported by virtue of the said
 “ laws, though it was not determined (as the said
 “ petitioners humbly presume) either by the said
 “ charter, or by any act of parliament in Great
 “ Britain, or by any express law of the said
 “ province, who are orthodox or who are not,
 “ or who shall judge of such qualifications in
 “ such ministers.

“ And in all which said several laws no care
 “ is had or taken of religion (even in their own
 “ sense) than only to appoint ministers of their
 “ own way, and impose their maintenance upon

“ the

C H A P.

II.



1724.

“ the king’s subjects, conscientiously dissenting
 “ from them, by force of which said laws, or
 “ some of them, several of the townships within
 “ the said province have had presbyterian and
 “ independent preachers obtruded and imposed
 “ upon them for maintenance without their
 “ consent, and which they have not deemed
 “ able, learned and orthodox, and which as
 “ such they could not hear or receive.

“ That by other laws made in the year 1722
 “ and 1723, it is ordained that the town of
 “ Dartmouth and the town of Tiverton in the
 “ said province shall be assessed for the said years
 “ the respective sums of 100l. and 72l. 11s.
 “ over and besides the common taxes for sup-
 “ port of the government, which sums are for
 “ maintenance of such ministers.

“ That the said Joseph Anthony and John
 “ Sisson were appointed assessors of the taxes for
 “ the said town of Tiverton, and the said John
 “ Akin and said Philip Tabor for the town of
 “ Dartmouth, but some of the said assessors be-
 “ ing of the people called Quakers, and others
 “ of them also dissenting from the presbyterians
 “ and independents, and greatest part of the
 “ inhabitants of the said towns being also Qua-
 “ kers or anabaptists, or of different sentiment
 “ in religion from independents and presbyte-
 “ rians, the said assessors duly assessed the other
 “ taxes upon the people there, relating to the
 “ support of government, to the best of their
 “ knowledge, yet they could not in conscience
 “ assess any of the inhabitants of the said towns
 “ any thing for or towards the maintenance of
 “ any ministers.

“ That

“ That the said Joseph Anthony, John Sisson, CHAP.
 “ John Akin and Philip Tabor, (on pretence of II.
 “ their non-compliance with the said law) were ~~~~~
 “ on the 25th of the month called May, 1723, 1724.
 “ committed to the jail aforesaid, where they
 “ still continue prisoners under great sufferings
 “ and hardships both to themselves and families,
 “ and where they must remain and die, if not
 “ relieved by the king’s royal clemency and
 “ favour.

“ That the said people called Quakers in the
 “ said province are, and generally have been,
 “ great sufferers by the said laws, in their cattle,
 “ horses, sheep, corn and household goods,
 “ which from time to time have been taken
 “ from them by violence of the said laws for
 “ maintenance of the said ministers, who call
 “ themselves able, learned and orthodox; which
 “ said laws, and the execution and consequen-
 “ ces thereof, are not only (as the petitioners
 “ humbly conceive) contrary to the liberty of
 “ conscience and security of religion, civil li-
 “ berty, property; and the rights and privileges
 “ granted in the said charter to all the king’s
 “ protestant subjects there, eluded and made
 “ null and precarious; but opposite to the king’s
 “ royal and gracious declaration, at thy happy
 “ accession to the throne, promising protection
 “ and liberty of conscience to all thy dissenting
 “ subjects, without exception to those of the
 “ said plantations.

“ That after repeated applications made to
 “ the government there, for redress in the pre-
 “ mises, and no relief hitherto obtained (the as-
 “ sembly always opposing whatever the gover-
 “ nor

CHAP. " nor and council were at any time disposed
 II. " to do on that behalf) the king's loyal suffer-
 1724. " ing and distressed subjects do now throw
 " themselves prostrate at the steps of the throne,
 " humbly imploring thy royal commiseration,
 " that it may please the king to denounce his
 " negative upon the said laws, or such part or
 " parts of them, or any of them, as directly or
 " consequentially affect the lives, liberties, pro-
 " perties, religion or consciences of the protes-
 " tant subjects in the said province, and their
 " families, and the privileges granted and in-
 " tended in the said charter, or such other re-
 " lief as thy royal wisdom and goodness may
 " please to provide; and in the mean time that
 " directions may be given that the said Joseph
 " Anthony, John Sisson, John Akin and Philip
 " Tabor be immediately released from their im-
 " prisonment, on their giving such security in
 " such sums as shall be thought proper, for
 " their being at any time or times hereafter
 " forthcoming when required, until their case
 " be brought to an issue.

" And the petitioners shall pray."

" At a Court at St. James's, the 2d day of
 " June 1724,

" P R E S E N T,
 " The King's Most Excellent Majesty.
 " His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.
 " Archbishop of Canterbury.
 " Lord Chancellor.

" Lord

- “ Lord President.
- “ Lord Privy Seal.
- “ Lord Carteret.
- “ Mr. Vice Chamberlain.
- “ William Pultney, Esq.
- “ Lord Chamberlain.
- “ Duke of Roxburgh.
- “ Duke of Newcastle.
- “ Earl of Westmoreland.
- “ Lord Viscount Townsend.
- “ Lord Viscount Torrington.
- “ Mr. Speaker of the House of Commons.

“ Upon reading this day at the board, a report from the Right Honorable the Lords of the committee of council, upon the petition of Thomas Richardson and Richard Partridge, on behalf of Joseph Anthony, John Sisson, John Akin and Philip Tabor, prisoners in the common jail at New Bristol, in his majesty’s province of Massachusetts Bay in New England, for not assessing the inhabitants of the towns of Dartmouth and Tiverton the additional taxes of 100l. and 72l. 11s. imposed upon them by an act passed there in the year 1722, by which they appear to be for the maintenance of Presbyterian ministers, who are not of their persuasion, and also in behalf of their friends called Quakers in general, who are frequently under sufferings for conscience sake in that government. By which report it appears, their Lordships are of opinion, that it may be adviseable for his majesty to remit the said additional taxes, so imposed on the said two towns, and to discharge the said persons from jail.

CHAP. “ nor and council were at any time disposed
 II. “ to do on that behalf) the king’s loyal suffer-
 1724. “ ing and distressed subjects do now throw
 “ themselves prostrate at the steps of the throne,
 “ humbly imploring thy royal commiseration,
 “ that it may please the king to denounce his
 “ negative upon the said laws, or such part or
 “ parts of them, or any of them, as directly or
 “ consequentially affect the lives, liberties, pro-
 “ perties, religion or consciences of the protes-
 “ tant subjects in the said province, and their
 “ families, and the privileges granted and in-
 “ tended in the said charter, or such other re-
 “ lief as thy royal wisdom and goodness may
 “ please to provide; and in the mean time that
 “ directions may be given that the said Joseph
 “ Anthony, John Sisson, John Akin and Philip
 “ Tabor be immediately released from their im-
 “ prisonment, on their giving such security in
 “ such sums as shall be thought proper, for
 “ their being at any time or times hereafter
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 “ be brought to an issue.

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CHAP. " His majesty in council taking the said re-
 II. " port into consideration, is graciously pleased
 1724. " to approve thereof, and hereby to remit the
 " said additional taxes of 100l. and 72l. 11s.
 " which were by the said act to have been as-
 " sessed on the said towns of Dartmouth and
 " Tiverton. And his majesty is hereby further
 " pleased to order, that the said Joseph Anthony,
 " John Sisson, John Akin and Philip Tabor be
 " immediately released from their imprisonment,
 " on account thereof, which the governor, lieu-
 " tenant governor, or commander in chief for
 " the time being of his majesty's said province
 " of Massachusetts Bay, and all others whom it
 " may concern, are to take notice of, and yield
 " obedience thereunto.

" TEMPLE STANYAN."

" Vera Copia."

1720. In the year 1720 Christopher Story departed
 Life of this life. He was a native of Cumberland,
 Christopher being born at Righead, in the parish of Kirk-
 Story. lington in that county. His father, Thomas
 Story, having been in the service of Sir Philip
 Musgrave, by his advice and encouragement
 gave this son an education to fit him for the uni-
 versity, the said Sir Philip proposing to send
 him thither at his expense as a companion to
 his own son: But when the time arrived for
 their removal from school, Christopher's mo-
 ther was unwilling to consent to his going thi-
 ther, in consideration that an education there
 might be the means of alienating him from the
 love of a country life, and make him disregard
 his paternal inheritance, being like to possess an
 estate

estate sufficient to afford him a competency; CHAP.
 on these and other considerations he preferred his staying in the country, and following the safe and useful employment of a husbandman. II.

1720.

Through divine mercy and preservation he appears from his early years to have been favoured with a religious disposition, being of a careful and sober demeanor amongst men, and frequent in reading the scriptures: To gross evils and open profanity he had a fixed aversion; but in vain amusements and pastimes, by the world termed innocent, he took a delight, especially in playing at cards, wherein being generally successful, his delight therein increased, and his thoughts were much taken up therewith; but he found his pleasure often succeeded by painful remorse, the convictions of the light in his own conscience frequently gave him much trouble and uneasiness for many days together, which brought him to some close considerations concerning the lawfulness of the practice; and not knowing then of any man that judged it in general unlawful, he was tempted to conclude, he might safely play at any time except on first days at night, which he, with others, had been in the practice of. Under this persuasion, he set himself at ease for a time; but as he became further illuminated, he saw clearly that he must lead a more circumspect and religious life than he had done, and not join with young people in their pastimes; yet under this impression he felt a reasoner within himself, persuading him, that as he was young, such amusements and such company

CHAP. II. { 1720. suited his age and time of life, that he yet might live long, and that it would be time enough for him to grow religious when he was married. To this flesh-pleasing doctrine he lent a willing ear for some time longer ; but in the cool hour of consideration his trouble of mind returned upon him with additional weight, as he was now sinning against conviction.

Being the only child of his parents, they were very desirous he should marry when young, and for that purpose proposed a young woman of a reputable family in the country for his choice. This proposal appearing to him a matter of great consequence to his future peace and welfare, filled him with an anxious thoughtfulness, and prayer to the Almighty, to prosper the design, so far only, as it might be for their good. About the same time his religious thoughtfulness encreased, so that if at any time he joined with profane airy company, and partook in their mirth, it would be succeeded by an additional weight of sorrow. In this state, an epidemical fever raging in the country, he was visited therewith : The prospect of probable death filled him with horror and great trouble of mind, fearing, as he had sinned against conviction, he had no just ground to hope for mercy, if he should be taken off by this distemper in the state of disobedience, he apprehended himself to be in, his only ray of hope was in the probability of divine mercy being so far extended as to restore him to health, and to grant him space to repent, which favour in both respects was mercifully granted to his earnest prayers

prayers in this time of accumulated distress; and a portion of divine grace enabled him to keep his resolution, to order his conversation still more religiously and circumspectly, than he had hitherto done: seeking retirement for mental prayer to the Lord in secret places, to shew him the sure way to salvation, being sensible he had not yet discovered it. He applied himself much to reading the scriptures, and became a very exemplary and devout attendant of the public worship, and diligently attentive to the doctrine he heard preached there; but durst not join in the singing as unsuitable to the state of his soul, under sorrow for his past defects, and want of strength and understanding by what means effectually to remedy them in future; for he observed the priests would describe the reward of the righteous, and the punishment of the wicked; but how to overcome sin and learn righteousness, he found himself left by them at a loss, which lessened the esteem of those teachers in his eye.

In this time of his uncertainty and agitation of mind, some of the ministers of the people called Quakers came into the neighbourhood of his residence, a desire of information, which naturally drew him to turn his enquiry on every side, led him to hear what their doctrine was on this and other religious subjects. The first of them whom he heard was John Wilkinson, (formerly an independent preacher) but coming late, and being discomposed through hurry in getting thither, being stinted in time, and his observation more outward to others than himself,

CHAP.
II.
1720.

CHAP. self, he writes, he was little reached. The next
 II. opportunity he had was at a meeting appointed
 1720. about a mile from his habitation, to which
 Robert Barclay, being on his way home, and
 hearing of the meeting, came, and appearing
 there in a clear and convincing testimony, his
 understanding was much opened into the na-
 ture of that spiritual religion he wanted to be
 acquainted with, and his conviction of the
 truth of his doctrine in a great measure effec-
 ted. Soon after Thomas Carleton and Thomas
 Langhorn were at a meeting appointed near
 his house, to which he went. These men, by
 their ministry and conversation, were instru-
 mental to his more clear and effectual con-
 viction, as well as that of sundry others.
 And the report of this conviction on the
 borders of Scotland reaching the ears of friends,
 John Wilkinson aforesaid paid them another vi-
 sit, and appointed another meeting amongst them;
 in which, through a divine power attending his
 ministry and overshadowing the meeting, many
 more were convinced.

After some more meetings amongst them,
 they were encouraged to keep up a meeting
 among themselves for solemn worship, though
 in silence, which they did; and their number
 increased, notwithstanding they had no outward
 ministry: many also were convinced in judg-
 ment, who had not fortitude to join the socie-
 ty, it being a time of hot persecution under
 the last act against convenicles, but for a while
 waited to see how it would fare with those,
 who had openly professed themselves Quakers.
 These newly convinced friends were soon made
 partakers

partakers with their elder brethren in the sufferings of this season, through the rapacity of informers. One Gilbert Atkinson, who had formerly been a man of repute, falling into frequent intoxication and other vicious courses, lost his reputation and his property, and in order to repair the latter turned informer; made great spoil of friends goods, and was instrumental to the imprisonment of many of them. But, like many others of this infamous class, his ill-gotten gains did him little good. Attending the sessions at Carlisle, in order to appear against friends in prison there, and prevent them from getting their liberty, he was arrested for debt, and cast into prison, where he fell into great poverty and want, in which state he was often relieved by some of this people, whom he had grievously persecuted, and at last finished his days in prison.

It was now that king Charles's declaration for liberty of conscience was published, whereby this people enjoyed a respite from suffering, and their number in this corner of the nation was considerably encreased, many of those who had stood off, seeing the divine preservation attending their innocence and steadfastness, joined them in society, and diligently attended their meetings, which were still held in silence, except when friends in the ministry from abroad came to visit them. Yet in those silent meetings they were often favoured with divine consolation, and grew in grace and the inward experience of the work of sanctification, whereby they were fitted for the reception of spiritual gifts. Among these Christopher Story was
one

CHAP.

II.

1720.

CHAP. one who received a share in the ministry, to
 II. which he was very backward to give up, though
 1720. often exercised under the burden of the word,
 for fear of missing his way, or bringing forth
 unripe fruit, but at last gave up to the divine
 requirings, in uttering a few words to his
 great peace and rejoicing in spirit; and through
 diligent attention to the opening of counsel,
 and instruction of the spirit of truth, he grew
 in his gift, and became an eminent minister
 of the word of reconciliation and salvation.
 This was several years after his conviction; but
 it was not long after his appearance in the
 ministry, till he thought it his duty to travel
 in the work thereof to Scotland. His succeeding
 journey to the yearly meeting of London, and
 thence westward in company with John Banks,
 hath been before noticed.* He continued in
 frequent journeys to exercise his ministerial
 labours, for the edification of his brethren,
 and the conviction of many others, through
 most parts of England, Scotland and Ireland,
 oftner than once. He was also concerned,
 particularly in his native county, to appoint
 meetings amongst those of other societies.
 His service was great, and his ministry well
 approved, at home and abroad; being plain,
 powerful and affecting in his testimony,
 reaching the hearts and consciences of his
 hearers.

In conducting the affairs of discipline in the
 church, his abilities were equally conspicuous.
 In much wisdom and prudence he exerted his
 endeavours

* See page 73.

endeavours to preserve his friends in a blame-CHAP.
less conversation, and in faithfulness in every II.
branch of their christian testimony. Against
undue liberty, excess and superfluity of every
kind, he was remarkably zealous; yet his zeal
being tempered with meekness, and his own ex-
ample marked with circumspection, abstinence,
simplicity and gravity, they produced an awful
respect, and frequently gave efficacy to his
zealous labours. 1720.

He was diligent also in his endeavours to preserve the peace of the church uninterrupted, and to keep out every incentive to strife and debate; he had also an excellent talent for accommodating differences or misunderstandings, when any thing of that kind happened.

Although this friend was not convinced till the season of persecution was pretty far advanced towards its period, yet he had a share of the sufferings to which this society was still exposed. From the time Atkinson the informer had been cast into prison, the friends in these parts had been pretty much unmolested, except some distresses taken for Sunday shillings (as they termed them) and an attempt to prosecute them as popish recusants for 20l. a month; but for want of an informer these prosecutions do not appear to have been carried through. At last, in 1682, one James Appleby from Yorkshire undertook the office, and procuring one Story to join him, they came to Christopher Story's, the meeting being there, and made information before Henry Forster, a justice, against several being met together,

CHAPTER II.
1720. together, and among others, that Christopher Story was there, although at that time he was in Lancashire, above forty miles off. A warrant was issued for making distress, but the officers were backward to execute the warrant in his absence; and the informer, sensible that his perjury was generally known, thought it safest to abscond for the present, whereby, for this time, he was disappointed of his prey.

But as soon as he thought the danger over, this informer returned to his infamous occupation, made information of another meeting at Christopher Story's, procured a warrant from justice Aglionby to distrain for the fines; but the constables being still backward to distress their neighbours, were very moderate in their distrains, which not suiting the views of the insolent informer, he brought one of them before the justice, and had him bound to his good behaviour; and had afterwards a general seizure made of Christopher Story's goods, of which they proclaimed a public sale; but such was the detestation, the plunder of informers was now held in, that nobody would come to buy. He took the horses and sheep to distant fairs; sold the horses at half price, and the sheep were scattered and dispersed about the country by the people and their dogs, when they knew who the man was, and how he came by them; he also had Christopher's corn seized, but could get nobody to thresh it. He again informed of another meeting to Henry Dacres, justice, against Christopher Story for preaching there, who was accordingly

cordingly fined 20l. for which the officers took several cows and young cattle; but these officers acting against their will, when they took them to market to sell, took care to have the people informed, what kind of goods they were. The informer upon this complained to the justice, who accordingly bound one of these officers also to his good behaviour. While the distresses remained undisposed of, king Charles died, which much weakened the informer's power; for then the justices would listen to none of his complaints, so the goods seized were not sold. Yet Christopher, with others of his friends, were bound to appear at the assizes, and for refusing to give bond to traverse the indictment were committed to prison, where they continued until king James granted them a general release, and then the persecution generally ceased.

C H A P.
II.
1720.

For his eminent qualifications for service in the church; for his diligent discharge of duty in a long and constant course of ministerial labour at home and abroad, and for his faithfulness as a shining example of consistency in a circumspect and religious conversation, he was greatly beloved and respected amongst his brethren. And as he was also endowed with a good understanding and a sound judgment in temporal affairs, in moral and civil rights, and in great repute for integrity, he was often employed in the good work of ending differences, and composing litigations among his neighbours of other communities, and with remarkable success, with that equity, skill and address, as to give satisfaction to both parties, a point not generally attained.

As

CHAP.

II.

1720.

As old age overtook him, and his body declined in strength, his mental faculties discovered no symptom of decay; his memory and understanding, his zeal and fervency continued unimpaired. He was seized with a consumptive distemper, which encreased upon him about the space of nine months, during which time he continued his attendance of religious meetings at home, wherein he was frequently favoured, so as to manifest that he retained his inward strength, by the lively and affecting testimonies he bore during his bodily weakness. And much excellent counsel, and edifying advice he imparted to his friends who came to visit him in his sickness, and also to his children he gave much tender and fatherly admonition.

And having lived a life of righteousness, devoted to the service of his maker and mankind, he had hope in his death, which happened at his own house at Righed the 6th of the 11th month 1720, and he was interred in friends burying ground at Hetherside; his funeral was attended by a multitude of friends and others, remarkably numerous, evidencing the general estimation of his character amongst his neighbours.

1727.
Death of
George I.

The king this year, going to visit his electoral dominions, was suddenly seized with an indisposition on the road, which proved mortal; he expired at Osnaburg the next day, being the 11th day of the month called June, in the 68th year of his age, having reigned near thirteen years with wisdom and moderation.

CHAP.

C H A P. III.

I R E L A N D.

Visit of Benjamin Holme and John Burton.—John Burton returns home.—Benjamin visits Londonderry and several other Places, where there are no Meetings of Friends,—Is imprisoned at Longford.—Address to Government on Occasion of the Rebellion.—Thomas Story visits Ireland.—At Kilkenny is persecuted by the Bishop of Ossory.

BENJAMIN HOLME, a friend of Yorkshire, a man of ancient simplicity, who resigning all worldly concerns and cares, having an estate or income sufficient for his few wants, gave up most or all his time to travel about for the edification of his friends, generally visiting them in their families, as well as their meetings; came over to Ireland this year, accompanied by John Burton, from the northern part of the same county, for the spreading the true knowledge of the principles of this society amongst other people; he was an able and powerful minister of the gospel, a man of good sense and strong natural parts, refined by religion, more than by education, in whom a peculiar wisdom in conduct, in his ministry

C H A P.

III.

1712.

Visit of B.
Holme and
John Bur-
ton.

CHAP. nistry and in his judgment was concealed under
 III. the rustick appearance of the simple husband-
 man.

1712.
 J. Burton
 returns.
 Benjamin
 in company
 with P.
 Hender-son
 for
 Londonderry.
 After visiting the meetings of his friends to
 their edification, John Burton returned home;
 but Benjamin having a further prospect in view,
 stayed longer, and then took his journey to
 Londonderry, accompanied by Patrick Hender-
 son, with a view to get a meeting in that city;
 but the magistrates would not permit it, dis-
 persing all the people who were assembled;
 whereupon Benjamin wrote to the mayor, shew-
 ing how disagreeable it was to christianity, thus
 to treat men, who under a religious concern
 came only to call the inhabitants to repentance.
 They also wrote to the inhabitants of the city,
 reminding them of the late calamities they had
 suffered, and the merciful deliverance they had
 providentially received, and their sudden forget-
 fulness of this great mercy, warning them of
 divine judgments for their ingratitude and pro-
 voking sins, if they did not timely repent.

These meet-
 ings in sun-
 dry places
 amongst
 strangers.
 After this the said friends had several meet-
 ings in the said county, and in the county of
 Donegall, amongst a people to whom the Qua-
 kers, so called, and their principles, were little
 known. Benjamin had several meetings of the
 same kind in the provinces of Munster and Con-
 naught; at Sligo, a few had lately been con-
 vinced, whom he felt a particular concern to
 visit, in order to strengthen and encourage them
 in the way to peace.

1713.
 Inquired
 after by
 the
 lord.
 In the second month, 1713, Benjamin and
 three friends came to Longford with the like
 purpose, and having obtained a room at their
 inn

inn for a meeting, they went to invite the people and acquaint the sovereign of the town, who told them he had no objection against their holding a meeting, but desired them to acquaint Benjamin Spann of it, who was both a justice of the peace and priest of the parish. In consideration of his office as a civil magistrate they thought it proper to wait upon him also, to apprize him of their purpose; but he quickly discovered in what light he held the toleration, abruptly telling them with great indignation *they should have no meeting in that town.* Benjamin Holme replied, *they did not come to ask his leave, but as a magistrate to inform him thereof,* and pleaded the Queen's toleration for liberty of conscience, and so they parted. But the landlord hearing of Spann's prohibition, told them, that in this circumstance he durst not by any means suffer a meeting in his house, for that Mr. Spann would ruin him. Whereupon Benjamin Holme and Benjamin Parvin, going to seek another place, met the said priest in the street, who accosted them afresh upon the occasion. Benjamin Holme renewed his plea of the Queen's toleration. The priest in wrath denied, *that either man or woman in England or Ireland could grant a toleration.* Benjamin Holme desired him to do as he would be done by. The priest replied, "that is no rule to me." His passion being greatly raised, he called for a constable; but none appearing, he seized him himself, and seeing the jailer near, commanded him to take him into custody; and so leading him by one arm, and the jailer by the other, they put him into the dungeon, and after some abusive language, the

C H A P.

III.

1713.

the priest laid hold of Benjamin Parvin, and delivered him to the jailer, who by his orders confined him in the same place, where they sat together in great peace and contentment for about six hours, and then the jailer removed them to an upper room, where several friendly persons came to see them, and among them one who brought them a discharge from the priest, upon condition they should promise not to come again, nor hold any meeting in or near Longford: They told him they could make no such promise, for that no true minister of Christ was his own master, but must answer the requirings of him, who called them into his work and service. They were locked up that night in the room, where they lay on the boards in their great coats and boots. The jailer understanding they would demand their liberty at the expiration of twenty-four hours, as they were arbitrarily committed without a mittimus shewing any cause, waited upon Spann, who then granted a mittimus, charging them with coming in contempt of the Queen's authority, by force and arms in a hostile manner, to hold a Quaker's meeting in the borough of Longford.

This charge they denied as false in every part of it, and particularly that it was not they who contemned the Queen's authority, but the priest, who had publicly declared, "that neither man or woman in England or Ireland could grant a toleration for liberty of conscience," and who had violated the toleration granted by the legislature, in imprisoning them; which being reported to the priest, he said, he wished he had never seen them, and in the evening sent an
order

order under his hand to the jailer to set them at liberty. C H A P. III.

By reason of the rebellion which broke out in Scotland, the friends in Ireland thought it requisite at this time to testify their affection to the government, which was done by the following address to the Lords justices. 1715.

- “ To Charles Duke of Grafton, and Henry
 “ Earl of Galway, lords justices, and chief
 “ governors of Ireland. 1715.
- “ The humble address of the people called Qua-
 “ kers, from their national half-year’s meet-
 “ ing held in Dublin the 10th of the ninth
 “ month, 1715. Address to govern-
ment upon
occasion of
the rebel-
lion.

“ May it please the Lords Justices,

“ The many and great privileges continued
 “ unto us under the king’s mild and favourable
 “ government, and those in authority under
 “ him, more especially that we have liberty
 “ peaceably to worship Almighty God accord-
 “ ing as he hath persuaded our consciences, we
 “ esteem great blessings, and lay us under great
 “ obligations of humility and thankfulness, first
 “ to God, and then to the king, for the same.

“ The king having been pleased to place you
 “ chief governors of this kingdom, we take
 “ leave, in our plain way, to congratulate you
 “ upon your safe arrival here, and to assure you
 “ that we are well affected to king George and
 “ the present government, and have a just de-
 “ testation

CHAP. “testation and abhorrence of all conspiracies,
 III. “plots and rebellion against the king and go-
 vernment; and that it hath been our declared
 1715. “principle, as well as practice, ever since the
 “Lord called us to be a people, to live peace-
 “ably and behave dutifully toward those, whom
 “he hath placed in authority over us, so, by
 “divine assistance, we are resolved, according
 “to our duty, to demean and behave ourselves
 “towards the king and those in authority under
 “him.

“And as we are a people liable to sufferings
 “for our tender consciences towards God, we
 “entreat, that if any such thing should attend
 “us under your administration, you will be
 “pleased favourably to admit us to lay our suf-
 “fering case before you, in order to seek for re-
 “drefs.

“We sincerely pray to Almighty God, that
 “he may endue your hearts with divine wis-
 “dom so to govern, that virtue and piety may
 “be encouraged, and the contrary restrained,
 “that so his blessing may attend you here in this
 “life, and eternal happiness in that to come.”

Thomas Wilson and several others by appoint-
 ment of the national meeting came over to the
 yearly meeting of London as usual, and at this
 time with a particular view to join with their
 brethren in England, in soliciting further ease
 with respect to the affirmation, which was uneasy
 to friends in Ireland in a general way, some of
 whom had been great sufferers, because their
 consciences would not allow them to make use
 of the affirmation in its original form.

Thomas

Thomas Story, who was now returned from CHAP. America, went over this year to Ireland, and III. had meetings not only with his friends, but among strangers, in places where no friends resided, and where the society was little known, amongst whom his service was generally well accepted, and he met with little interruption until he came to Kilkenny, the inhabitants of which city are generally of the Romish communion, or Protestants of the high church class, being the ancient residence of the Dukes of Ormond, and at that time under the influence of a lordly high priest, Vesey, bishop of Ossory, whose palace is there. Here are few dissenters of any class except papists; and this bishop seemed much disposed, as far as he had power, to suffer no other.

1716.
Thomas
Story visits
Ireland.

Thomas coming to the city, in company with fundry other friends, with a view to procure a meeting amongst the inhabitants, a proper place being procured and fitted up with seats, and the meeting gathered according to appointment, Some time after Thomas had stood up, and was proceeding in his testimony, there came in two men, Arthur Webb and Robert Shervington, and commanding him to be silent, and the people to disperse, he took no notice of them for some time, but proceeded in his testimony, until they disturbed the meeting to that degree that the people were not in a capacity to hear; then he stopped and asked them who they were, and by what authority they acted thus? They answered, they were the church-wardens: He replied, the church-wardens had no authority by the virtue of their office to meddle with

At Kilkenny persecuted by the bishop of Ossory.

CHAP. their meeting, nor power to hinder it; so desired them to desist, and sit down peaceably as others did. Seeing Thomas and his friends notwithstanding alarmed or terrified by their intrusion, as they expected, they ordered the people to disperse, threatening them with the Bishop's court, and began to take some names, which some observing went out, but the greatest part stayed, being displeased at the spoiling of the meeting which had begun well. Soon after came one Joseph Worley, serjeant at mace, and a constable along with him, while Thomas was still standing and exhorting the people as he could get opportunity; they desired him to come down, for they had a warrant from a justice of peace to apprehend him, and disperse the meeting. Thomas told them the Quakers were well known to be a peaceable people, and subject to government, and desired them to have a little patience, till he had cleared himself to the people, to which they discovered no aversion, till some of the superior persecutors cried out, How well you execute your warrant? They then took him, Edward Cooper, Henry Ridgeway and John Harris away, in custody to the justice's house, but he would not be seen, being troubled that he had been drawn in to sign the warrant, which was brought to him ready drawn up by Robert Connell the bishop's register, and sent to him by the bishop, desiring him to sign it; it was with reluctancy he complied; they took them to other justices, who evaded interfering; till at last they were taken before the mayor, and this Connell, who being an alderman, was a justice of the city by his office; they

they charged them with holding a riotous and unlawful assembly, which being denied, Connell acknowledged they were not making any disturbance, but still it was an unlawful assembly, the act of toleration in England not extending to Ireland. This position Thomas Story endeavoured to disprove; these magistrates then required security for their appearance at the assizes, and for their good behaviour in the mean time; this was refused; the justices wrote a mittimus, but at last dismissed them with menaces of the consequences, if they should attempt to hold any more meetings there.

As these menaces proceeded from a very different disposition to that which the king (to whom the bishop and his adherents were suspected to bear no true allegiance) and superior order of magistrates discovered to this people at this time, they were no way discouraged by them, but concluded to appoint another meeting next morning; Thomas had stood up to proceed in his discourse about half an hour, when the same church-wardens disturbed the meeting as before; but little notice was taken of them, till the mayor's serjeants and constables came and took Thomas Story singly a second time into custody, and carried him before the mayor, Connell and some others, who behaved imperiously, and gave him threatening language. He told them they were not to insult the king's subjects, nor vent their own passions upon them; that if he had broken the law, he was subject to the law; and if they acted without law, they also were punishable by the law. They again required sureties for his appearance at the assizes,

Committed
to prison.

and

CHAP.
III.
1716.

CHAP. and for his good behaviour, and upon his refusal committed him to jail with the following mittimus.

1716.

“ City of Kilkenny, fs. By John Birch, Esq;
 “ Mayor of the said City, and Robert Connell, Esq; one of his Majesty’s Justices of
 “ the Peace for the said City.

“ WE herewith send you the body of *Thomas Story*, he unlawfully assembling himself with
 “ several other persons, and refusing to find
 “ sufficient security for his appearance next
 “ assizes, and for his good behaviour, and him
 “ to keep, till thence discharged by the course
 “ of law; and for so doing this shall be your
 “ Warrant. Given under our hands and seals
 “ this 28th day of *February*, 1716.

“ JOHN BIRCH, Mayor,

“ ROBERT CONNELL.

“ To the Keeper of his Majesty’s Jail of the said
 “ City, These.”

He is by the Sheriff removed to his own house,

By this mittimus he was sent to the town jail, and put into the common ward among thieves, in irons; but was not suffered to stay there very long, for *Anthony Blunt*, the sheriff of the city, a very civil young man, well affected to the king, in resentment to the malicious and arbitrary proceedings of the opposite party, took him out of the common prison

son to his own house, where he was provided with a very good room and agreeable accommodations, to the disappointment of the bishop.

CHAP.
III.
1716.

The account of his imprisonment brought friends from several parts to visit him, and many stayed in town till the first day; they had a meeting in the sheriff's house, his wife and family and many persons of the neighbourhood being present, wherein Thomas Story bore his testimony against Anti-christ and his ministers, to the ease of his own mind and the satisfaction of his audience.

where he
hath a
meeting.

The next day, going in company with some friends to take the air in the duke of Ormond's gardens, he was accosted by several persons, whom curiosity drew to enter into conversation with this prisoner at large; among the rest justice Warren, who granted the warrant for apprehending him, and acknowledged his sorrow for it; and Alderman Haddock and others, who entering into conference with him, began to discourse about his confinement, at which they freely expressed their indignation.

In the mean time the mayor and alderman Connell also came in a great chafe, which was heightened when they saw these persons in friendly conversation with him. As they advanced towards them, Thomas began to speak to his company, concerning the grounds upon which they founded their proceedings, viz. a supposition that the toleration act did not reach Ireland, which Thomas proceeded to refute, shewing that the act extended to all the king's dominions; that this had been the intention
of

CHAP. of the king and his predecessors, since the law
 111. was made, and that upon several addresses pre-
 1716. sented to him by friends, the king had assured
 them of his protection, particularly on one
 from the last yearly meeting of London, when
 Thomas was present with many others, he was
 pleased to answer their address in these words,
 “ I thank you for your assurance of duty and
 “ affection to my person and government, and
 “ *you may always depend upon my protection.*
 “ But it seems,” continued he, “ the mayor
 “ and the magistrates here insist in an opi-
 “ nion quite opposite to this, at the hazard
 “ of what may follow ; for you may assure
 “ yourselves we are as jealous and tenacious
 “ of our gospel and natural liberties, as any
 “ body here can be bent to deprive us of
 “ them.”

The mayor
 applies to
 Justice
 Warren to
 join in send-
 ing T. S.
 out of the
 county,
 who refuses.

The Mayor and his party discovered great
 rancour. They immediately applied to Justice
 Warren to join them in sending him out of
 the county, for their own jurisdiction extended
 no farther than the precincts of the city. But
 the justice refused, telling them he had done
 too much of this drudgery for them already,
 and would have no further concern with them,
 but leave them to their own measures. This
 vexed them greatly, and occasioned more words,
 which grew pretty hot on both sides, till the
 justices and their party, who were for the king
 and indulgence, asked them, “ how they came
 “ to connive at so many masses in open view,
 “ and be so furious upon the king’s friends and
 “ peaceable subjects?” “ And pray, Mr. Mayor,”
 said he, “ what notice have you taken of the
 “ seditious sermon you heard yesterday in the
 “ little

“ little church? you can hear such with plea- CHAP.
 “ sure, whilst you treat these loyal subjects with III.
 “ so much severe usage; did you, Sir, demand
 “ that person’s notes, and bring him to ac- 1716.
 “ count for it?” The mayor replied, “ that
 “ was my lord bishop’s business, not mine.”
 “ If that was not your business, being a mat-
 “ ter of religion, pray how comes it to be so
 “ much your business to meddle with these peo-
 “ ple, who have given you no other occasion
 “ but about their religious opinions, to which
 “ they have equal right and liberty with other
 “ his majesty’s protestant subjects.”

This discourse plainly discovers the temper of both parties, and of what class the persecutors were; and it had that effect upon the mayor, that when he grew cool the next day, he took up the mittimus, and sent Thomas Story word that he was at liberty, and might go when and whither he pleased; and made an apology for his conduct, that he would not have done what he did, but that *the Clergy as one man strongly urged him to it*, by telling him, they had thought him a man for the church, but to find him so remiss, looked quite otherwise; that for his own part it gave him no concern what meetings they had, and was glad he was now like to be out of the way, being obliged to attend the judges at the assizes at Wexford as deputy clerk of the crown, hoping all would be over in his absence. Yet he was again drawn in by the bishop to repeat the like treatment.

Many friends from divers places being come to visit Thomas Story, they concluded upon
 Again im-
 prisoned.
 another

CHAP. another meeting next first day in the same place,

III. which was interrupted in like manner as the
 ~~~~~ former had been, and Thomas again taken pri-  
 1716. soner, and after him William Brookfield of Dub-  
 lin, who stood up to speak after Thomas was  
 taken away; they staid but a short time, till the  
 sheriff again took them to his own house.

Connell, the bishop's register, held the office  
 of deputy-mayor during the mayor's absence,  
 and apprehending him still a prisoner under  
 the Mayor's mittimus, not knowing, or not  
 owning the knowledge of its being taken up,  
 he had caused him to be taken and confined  
 as a prisoner at large, but finding his mistake  
 dismissed them for that time.

and dis-  
 charged.

They met again about three o'clock in the  
 afternoon of the same day, and the bishop hear-  
 ing of it, told one of the serjeants, if they met  
 again, he would have him put them in the  
 stocks, till he came from Church; but many  
 people gathering, after a time of comfortable  
 silence, under a sense of the divine presence,  
 Thomas stood up to speak, and had gone on for  
 some time, the people being very still, very well  
 satisfied with what they heard, and very desi-  
 rous to hear him out, when the constables and  
 serjeants came again, but being grown weary of  
 the invidious office, with great reluctance and  
 with apologies, and so faintly, that they could  
 hardly touch him; and one of them naming  
 the bishop to be concerned, furnished Thomas  
 with an occasion to remark, they were not igno-  
 rant all this time, who was at the bottom of these  
 persecuting measures, but now they heard plainly  
 it was the bishop.

The bishop  
 at the bot-  
 tom of this  
 persecution

The

The officers taking him away, it gave great offence to the people, many of whom followed them, calling out "shame." Thomas advised them to avoid disturbance, that no advantage might be taken. The officers, abashed and troubled, expressed their concern, that their offices should subject them to actions so contrary to their inclinations, entreated him to walk up to his lodgings till church was done; he told them he was in their custody, and must go whither they should take him; whereupon they accompanied him to the sheriff's house. In the mean time the meeting continued; William Brookfield appeared in the ministry; some constables were there, who stood without, as if they had no mind to understand or hear any thing; the meeting ended in order, and friends were greatly comforted.

Next morning Thomas left Kilkenny to take some meetings in the country, with an intention to return thither at the assizes, the latter end of the week, for he thought it necessary to be there at that time, as his adversaries had required sureties for his appearance there, which, though not free to give, yet, conscious of his own innocence, he esteemed his reputation and that of his profession called upon him to shew himself there, and thereby demonstrate he feared no legal enquiry into his conduct.

He returned accordingly, accompanied by many friends from different parts, which made his return soon known, and raised the people's curiosity to see how the affair would terminate. Some friends went to the judges, and apprized them of Thomas's case and his treatment

CHAP.  
III.  
1716.

T. S. leaves  
Kilkenny  
for the pre-  
sent,

but returns  
to the  
Assizes.

CHAP.

III.

1716.

ment by the high-church persecutors, at the instigation of the bishop of Offory; and Amos Strettell and some friends of Dublin had procured a letter from one of the intended Lord's Justices to one of the Judges; for the government favoured friends, and inclined to do all they could for them in honor and safety.

The judges sent for the sheriff to examine the calendar, and not finding the mittimus therein, it appeared that his adversaries had little hopes of gaining any thing by a prosecution, and therefore having exercised their power as far as they durst, were willing to drop further proceedings, which must here redound to their discredit and disappointment. And the judges advised Thomas and his friends to overlook their proceedings for that time, which they readily complied with. That evening the judge in his charge declared it was treason in any to pull down or deface any public religious meeting-house, which having been a practice with the populace, intoxicated by the cry of Sacheverel and High Church, was construed by the public as a stroke at the partisans of that faction, who were in power at Kilkenny.

Friends appointed another meeting, which ended to satisfaction

Thus Thomas being released from the power of his opponents, and the next day being the first of the week, he and his friends concluded to appoint another meeting, which was very full, comfortable and quiet. Just as Patrick Henderson had kneeled down to prayer, the mayor's serjeants came in very quietly, stayed till he had done, and till Thomas Story stood up and spake awhile; then one of the serjeants stood up, and with great reluctance, (as was apprehended) and low



low voice, said, he was sent by the mayor to CHAP. command them in the king's name to disperse; III. but quickly added, "but if you will not, I can- 1716. not compel you," and so went civilly away. Thomas had an opportunity now, for the first time, to go through with the subject before him, and after a time of supplication, the meeting concluded.

They had another meeting in the afternoon, in which they met with no interruption or disturbance. Yet the bishop finding the former measures ineffectual to accomplish his desire, was meditating further means of gaining his ends. He had conceived a notion that the Act of Uniformity passed in the reign of Charles II. would reach Thomas Story's case, and he was so precipitate as to issue a warrant in his own name, directed to the sheriff to arrest and commit him to the common jail for three months without bail or mainprize; intending to wreak his malice by confining him in an incommodious common prison the whole time; for he had sent for the sheriff and reprimanded him sharply, and threatened to call him before the house of lords, for giving him the liberty of the town upon his first commitment.

Upon a consultation between the bishop, the mayor and alderman Connell, the bishop's mistake was discovered in giving the warrant himself; for, by the act upon which he proceeded, he was only to certify the offence to two justices or mayor, and then the civil magistrate was to issue his warrant and mittimus. This error being detected, it was concluded that the mayor should issue his warrant and mittimus, which he did accordingly as followeth:

" City

## CHAP.

III.



1716.

“ City of *Kilkenny*, fs. By John Birch, *Esq*;  
 “ *Mayor of the said City.*

“ Whereas I received a Certificate, under  
 “ the hand and seal of the Right Reverend  
 “ Father in God *Thomas* Lord Bishop of *Offory*,  
 “ in which he certifies, that *Thomas Story*, a  
 “ Quaker, did this day preach in the said City  
 “ of *Kilkenny*, contrary to the Act of Uniformi-  
 “ ty made in the seventeenth year of the reign  
 “ of King *Charles* the Second.

“ These are therefore in pursuance of the said  
 Act and Certificate, to will and require you,  
 “ on sight hereof, to apprehend the body of the  
 “ said *Thomas Story*, and him so apprehended to  
 “ convey to the common jail of the said City,  
 “ there to remain for the space of three months,  
 “ without bail or mainprize; whereof fail not  
 “ at your peril, and for your so doing this shall  
 “ be your Warrant. Given under my hand and  
 “ seal this 17th day of *March* 1716.

“ JOHN BIRCH, Mayor.

“ To the several Constables, and  
 “ Officers of the said City.”

This warrant was served upon him in the even-  
 ing of the same day at the sheriff's; but the  
 sheriff declared he should not leave his house  
 that night, whatever the consequence might  
 be. Thomas soon after procured the act, and  
 read it over carefully, whereby he was clearly  
 convinced, they had exceeded the limits of law,  
 the act having no relation to the people called  
 Quakers,

Quakers, their meetings or preaching; but only to their own parish priests, to reduce them to one scantling, and uniformity of prayer and worship; and to prevent the ministers of Oliver's days from retaining the benefices of which they were in possession, without an unreserved conformity to the episcopal church in every respect; but had no respect to those who preached without pay.

CHAP.  
III.  
1716.

Upon this discovery he told the sheriff it was false imprisonment, and desired him and others to take down in writing at what time he was arrested, because there might be occasion for their evidence. The sheriff seemed surprised that the great bishop and his counsellors should commit such a blunder; however he took account of the time.

But it seems probable, that upon further consultation and consideration, they had themselves discovered their mistake, for next morning, pretty early, the serjeant who arrested him, instead of conveying him to the common jail, to which he was committed, brought him a message from the mayor, that he had taken up the warrant and mittimus, and that he was at liberty to go where he pleased. Thomas observed upon this, that the mayor ought to send him a liberate under his hand and seal, and not imagine him entirely at his disposal, to toss in and out of jail at his pleasure, but that he had his remedy at law against him and them who had used him thus.

Finally set  
at liberty.

The serjeant retired, and a little after the mayor came himself to inform him he was at liberty, for he taken up the mittimus and destroyed

CHAP. stroyed it. Thomas said, " Since that violence;  
 III. " by which my just liberty hath been obstructed  
 " is taken away, it is now returned to its natu-  
 1716. " ral course, and if I could find it consist with  
 " what I profess, I might consider of ways and  
 " means to do myself justice against such vio-  
 " lent and illegal proceedings; but as it is a  
 " wrong done me for the sake of my religion,  
 " I may probably bear it with patience for  
 " that reason, being sensible of the advantage  
 " I have of my enemies." The mayor made  
 very little reply, but civilly departed.

The result of these proceedings was honorable to Thomas and his friends, and their profession gained ground in the estimation of the public. Many eyes were opened to see the bishop and his spirit and party, and what might be expected, if he and they were reinstated in that power, which they still grasped after and longed for, at the same time looking with an invidious eye at the toleration, which deprived them of it.



## C H A P. IV.

## I R E L A N D CONTINUED.

*Friends allowed to answer Bills in Chancery upon their Affirmation.—Act of Exemption from the Penalties of second Eliz.—A Provincial Visit.—First Affirmation Act in Ireland.—Account of John Barcroft.—Alexander Seaton.—Thomas Wight, and Thomas Wilson.*

ALTHOUGH the dissenters in general in this kingdom, and the people called Quakers in particular, do not appear to have been subject to persecution for their religion to that degree that they were in England during the reign of King Charles and after, as, I apprehend, several of the penal laws of that reign did not extend to Ireland; so as yet they had not received the legal privileges which their brethren in England had done by *the Act of Toleration*, or that *for accepting their solemn Affirmation instead of an Oath*. But in the year 1719 they received a partial relief in both cases. Great sufferings having attended them lately as well as formerly, through the litigious and fraudulent practices of ill-designing men, in filing bills in Chancery against them, where their answers would not be received without an oath, frequently in order to defraud them of their just dues. Friends being encouraged by the moderate and indulgent disposition of the present

C H A P.  
IV.

1718.

CHAP. sent government, concluded if an act for a  
 IV. plain and easy affirmation could not be yet  
 1718. obtained, to endeavour to procure a clause in  
 some suitable bill to empower the Chancellor  
 and the Barons of the Exchequer to receive  
 friends answers without an oath in such cases  
 as they might think convenient; and their ap-  
 plication was so far attended with success. For  
 in an act of parliament, entitled "*An Act for  
 the Amendment of the Law,*" a clause was ob-  
 tained, allowing friends answers to bills in  
 chancery upon their affirmation, and producing  
 a certificate signed by six creditable friends;  
 but they did not obtain a general affirmation  
 act till the year 1722, and then only for three  
 years.

Friends  
 answers to  
 bills in  
 Chancery  
 upon their  
 Affirmation  
 allowed.

Act of Ex-  
 emption  
 from the  
 penalties of  
 2d Eliz.

The same year a clause was obtained in an  
 act passed for exempting protestant dissenters  
 from certain penalties to which they were lia-  
 ble, allowing friends the privilege (in common  
 with the others) of worshipping God according to  
 their consciences without molestation. It was  
 hereby enacted, that the statute of the second  
 of Queen Elizabeth for the uniformity of com-  
 mon prayer, whereby all persons are required to  
 resort to their parish church or chapel, &c. shall  
 not extend to any protestant dissenters, who  
 shall take the oaths of fidelity, &c. under the  
 like restrictions with the act of exemption and  
 toleration passed in England in 1688. And  
 every Quaker, who shall make or subscribe the  
 declaration of fidelity to King George, of re-  
 nouncing the pope and pretender, &c. shall be  
 exempted from all penalties in the aforesaid  
 act, and shall enjoy all the privileges and advan-  
 tages as other Protestant dissenters.

The

The society being, through the favour of divine providence, and the clemency of the rulers of the land, exempted from the severe trials and grievous sufferings to which they had formerly been exposed, were now exposed to trials of a different kind, viz. a season of peace and prosperity, which some amongst them, both in this and the neighbouring nation, were observed not to sustain with that fortitude, wisdom and inflexible virtue, which their predecessors had maintained, through the severities inflicted upon them. Complaints were made to the national meeting, in the third month, of the disregard to the rules and good order of the society, discoverable in libertinism in conduct amongst many of the youth, and a negligence and lukewarmness of spirit in the discharge of religious duties in some of more advanced age; that an aspiring mind had incited some individuals to extend in commercial engagements beyond the bounds of moderation, or beyond the extent of their own capital, or capacity to manage with reputation and justice, whereby the property of other men was invaded; debts contracted above their ability to pay, to the injury of their creditors, and the reproach of their religious profession. In order to obviate these and other evils, a provincial visit was made to the several monthly meetings in the provinces of Leinster and Ulster; and Ambrose Rigge's warning \* ordered to be reprinted and distributed amongst friends for general caution.

A provincial visit.

This year several friends, according to usual practice, were deputed to attend the yearly meeting of London, to endeavour with their

S 2

friends

\* See page 12.

C H A P. friends there to promote a joint application  
 IV. for a form of affirmation that might be easy  
 to all friends. Thomas Wilfon, who was one  
 of them, spent some time in visiting the meet-  
 ings of friends in sundry parts of England,  
 and afterwards in the city of London, in join-  
 ing his assistance with friends there in their so-  
 licitations to parliament for the relief desired,  
 which, we have seen, was attended with success  
 in obtaining such a form of affirmation as made  
 it easy to all friends, to their general comfort and  
 satisfaction.

1721.  
 Some  
 friends of  
 this nation  
 pass over to  
 England to  
 promote an  
 application  
 for amend-  
 ment of the  
 affirmation  
 act.

1722. And friends in Ireland, who generally disap-  
 proved the form of the first affirmation, and did  
 not expect to obtain a more easy form from  
 the parliament of that kingdom than they had  
 a precedent for from England, had made no ap-  
 plication on that account till now; but having  
 now a precedent to their mind, they solicited  
 the legislature of Ireland to grant them the like  
 favour, as the parliament of England had grant-  
 ed to their brethren there, and succeeded so  
 far as to obtain an act to accept their solemn affir-  
 mation in the same terms and under the same  
 restrictions as their brethren in England had done,  
 to continue in force for three years, and to  
 the end of the then next sessions of parliament\*.

Application  
 for an affir-  
 mation act  
 in Ireland.

In

\* This affirmation, which was afterwards made perpetual  
 in 1746 (the 19th year of Geo. II.) is in these words:

“ I A. B. do solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare and affirm :”  
 And no person is entitled to it, unless he shall affirm in the  
 form aforesaid, that he is “ of the profession of the people called  
 “ Quakers, and has been so for one year last past.”

The affirmation will not qualify a person to hold any place  
 under the government, or to serve on juries, or to give evi-  
 dence in criminal causes.



In this year died John Barcroft, of Arkill, C H A P.  
 near Edenderry. He was the son of William IV.  
 and Margaret Barcroft, born at Shralegh, near  
 Rosenallis in the Queen's county, in the year 1722.  
 1664. He was the first friend who came to Account of  
 settle near Edenderry after the wars, and was John Bar-  
 principally helpful to settle a meeting in that croft.  
 town, encouraging a few families of friends to  
 meet together to worship God, and was very ser-  
 viceable in that meeting, which since became very  
 large.

His example gave efficacy to his endeavours,  
 being himself a zealous attender of these meet-  
 ings, and that not in a formal way, but under  
 a lively sense of the solemnity of the duty, he  
 was diligently exercised to wait for power to  
 worship God in spirit and in truth, according  
 to his requiring, whereby he experienced a  
 growth in the knowledge of God, and the mys-  
 teries of his kingdom; and his heart being  
 thus prepared, he received a gift in the minis-  
 try about the 33d year of his age. But being  
 a modest and humble man, he was possessed of  
 great fears, in the prospect of being called to  
 this service; the various remarks and censures  
 to which he might be exposed; his observing  
 some in that line, who hurt themselves and  
 the people by exceeding the bounds of their  
 gifts, multiplying words without life, were dis-  
 couragements in his way, to that degree, that he  
 lost his hold of the true faith, which gets the  
 victory over fleshly reasonings, and was left for  
 a season in the dark; but afterwards it pleased  
 the Lord to cause the true light to re-illumi-  
 nate his mind with a clear sight of the duty  
 he

CHAP. he required of him, and then he was strengthened-

IV. ed to give up in obedience to the heavenly call, and in great tear uttered a few words in the meeting, and in process of time became a diligent and successful labourer for the promotion of righteousness, both in his native country and in England; having visited the meetings in the provinces of Ulster and Munster, severally, eleven times, in the service of the gospel, to his own peace and the edification of the churches, and been ten times at the yearly meeting of London.

His ministry was plain and lively, in which he was not forward to make a public appearance, without real necessity. In the management of his outward affairs he was diligent and discreet, yet fervent in spirit, he kept them so in their proper place, as not to suffer them to be any impediment to his religious duties, being freely given up to serve the Lord, his church and people, preferring the prosperity of truth and righteousness as his chief joy. His conversation among men eminently adorned his profession; being affable and cheerful, yet grave, meek and humble, preferring others before himself. A peace-maker, singularly serviceable in composing differences. A useful helper in the government of the church, being well qualified for that service, and his hands strengthened therein, by ruling well his own house. A sympathizing visiter of the sick and the afflicted; charitable to the poor, and given to hospitality.

Account of  
Alexander  
Seaton.

In the first month 1723-4, died Alexander Seaton of Hillsborough, about the 71st year of his age, and 47th of his ministry. He was born

born in Aberdeen county in Scotland, and at the age of seventeen was put to the college of old Aberdeen, where he continued about two years. He afterwards staid some time at the house of Alexander Forbes of Acorthies, whose wife was his kinswoman; and they being friends exemplary in conduct, it pleased the Lord to open his understanding, so that he was convinced of the truth of our principles in the year 1675, and afterwards confirmed by being present at a dispute between Robert Barclay and George Keith, and some students of the university. In the year 1676, he with many other friends was committed a prisoner to the Tolbooth of Aberdeen, where he was detained nineteen months, in which time his mouth was opened in a living testimony to the truth, which he continued afterwards to bear when at liberty, labouring in the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, being instrumental to turn people from darkness to light, and from the power of satan to God, in Scotland, Ireland and England.

Some time after his marriage he took up his abode in Glasgow, where he resided some years. The few friends who resided in that city suffered much persecution, both from the magistrates and the rude multitude, who haling them out of their meetings, beat and abused them in the streets, frequently to the danger of their lives, and committed them to prison. On this account our friend A. Seaton found himself engaged in mind to dwell there, not only to bear a part of the burden in the heat of that time of persecution, but also for the strengthening, comforting and encouraging his brethren to faithfulness and constancy through their various tribulations,

C H A P.  
IV.  
1723.

CHAP. tribulations, which had so good an effect, that  
 IV. he was instrumental, by the Lord's assist-  
 1723. ance, to overcome the persecutions, so that  
 friends enjoyed their meetings more peaceably  
 than before. Now finding himself free to leave  
 Glasgow, he took his family over to Ireland,  
 and settled at Hillsborough, in the county of  
 Down. He there duly attended meetings at  
 home, as also the monthly and provincial meet-  
 ings, in which he was of good service both in  
 doctrine and discipline, having a large, sound and  
 clear gift in the ministry; and although a scholar,  
 was not much known as such in his services for  
 the Lord, not esteeming that learning in com-  
 parison of the gift of God and the operation  
 of his holy spirit, under which he was a faith-  
 ful, humble and meek labourer in the work of  
 the ministry, to the informing the understand-  
 ings of the ignorant, and to the comfort and  
 encouragement of Sion's travellers; prudent,  
 considerate and seasonable in offering his gift;  
 powerful in prayer; in discipline of a deep  
 and solid judgment, often helpful in difficult  
 cases. He was a man of a good understand-  
 ing; of clear and sound reasoning; of few  
 words in conversation, and little acquainted  
 with the things of the world. He used daily  
 to devote some part of his time to religious  
 retirement, and adorned the doctrine of our  
 Lord Jesus Christ, by a solid deportment and  
 exemplary conversation. In the latter part of  
 his time he was much afflicted with bodily  
 weakness, which he bore with patience and re-  
 signation, and died in great peace and quiet-  
 ness, having, among many other sweet expres-  
 sions



sions on his death-bed, declared, that *he had partaken of the earnest of that joy which should never have an end.* C H A P.  
IV.

This year died Thomas Wight of Cork, in the 84th year of his age. He was the son of Rice Wight, priest of Bandon, a man zealous in the discharge of his office, and more devoted and tender in that respect than the generality of that class of men, and very strict in the education of his children in the established church. Thomas served a hard apprenticeship with a clothier in Bandon, and whilst in his service, hearing of a Quakers meeting to be held in that neighbourhood, he went to it out of curiosity; but finding that the people sat for a long time silent, he began to be very uneasy, and to think within himself, that as he had heard the Quakers were witches, he might be bewitched if he staid any longer. However, he waited a little while, when Francis Howgill stood up and uttered these words: “ Before the eye can see, it must be opened; before the ear can hear, it must be unstopped; and before the heart can understand, it must be illuminated.” These three sentences, as Francis opened them to the congregation with great clearness and energy, made a deep impression on his mind, and he became in a great measure convinced of the truth of the doctrine preached; but the prejudice of education, and the shame and reproach he underwent from his relations for going to the Quakers meeting, for a while effaced that impression, until Edward Burrough came into those parts, whose preaching was so powerful and reaching to the state of his soul, and accompanied with such an evidence

1724.  
Thomas  
Wight.

CHAP. evidence of truth, that he was no longer able  
 IV. to withstand it. He now resolved, through di-  
 vine assistance, to be faithful according to the  
 1724. light received, through all difficulties that might  
 attend; and indeed he became a proverb and a  
 by-word among his relations and acquaintance,  
 but he bore it with exemplary patience. Being  
 rejected by his relations, he lived some time with  
 his master, who had a great respect for him, on  
 account of his singular faithfulness and trustiness  
 in his service.

In the year 1670 he married, and in process of  
 time had a numerous family, whereupon he en-  
 gaged in a considerable degree of business, and in  
 all probability might soon have acquired a large  
 share of worldly riches; but he was stopped in  
 the pursuit hereof by an illumination, as he  
 thought, deeply affecting his mind with a sense to  
 this purpose, *that he could not be heir to two king-*  
*doms.* Hereupon he grew more retired from the  
 world and the concerns thereof, and devoted his  
 mind to the service and promotion of truth, pre-  
 ferring this before transitory riches. He became  
 an able scribe and clerk for the meeting of Cork,  
 and province of Munster, from the year 1680 till  
 his death, discharging this office from a religious  
 impression on his mind and zeal for the good  
 cause. He was the person principally concerned  
 in compiling an historical account of the rise and  
 progress of friends in Ireland, which he finished  
 to the year 1700. He was a man of an exem-  
 plary life and conversation, and good conduct in  
 the education of his children; a pattern of plain-  
 ness, and a diligent attender of meetings both at  
 home and abroad, being zealous for the promo-  
 tion

tion of truth. He was seized with an indisposi-  
 tion which proved mortal in the 9th month 1724,  
 under which he shewed great compofure of mind  
 and refignation to the Lord's will, and on his  
 death bed testified his great fatisfaction, that he  
 had not put off the great affair of the falvation  
 of his foul to the laft, fignifying that God had  
 fealed his falvation to him, to the great comfort  
 of thofe prefent.

C H A P.

IV.

1724.

In this year Thomas Wilfon of Thornwell,  
 near Edenderry, in the king's county, departed  
 this life. A man, who under an unpolifhed exte-  
 rior covered great mental abilities, natural and  
 fpiritual. He was born at Soulby, in the parifh  
 of Daker, in Cumberland. His education was  
 in the way of the church of England, as to reli-  
 gious profeffion; but he had little advantage  
 thereby, in the improvement of his underftand-  
 ing by literary knowledge, being plainly an illi-  
 terate man. Yet by faithfulnefs to the difcovery  
 of the divine light, he became well inftructed to  
 the kingdom of heaven, and well qualified to in-  
 ftruct others in the way of life and falvation. In  
 his early youth, from a religious turn of mind, he  
 gave a diligent attendance to the public afsemblies  
 for worfhip, to hear fermons, and repeat them as  
 acts of religious duty, and fo zealous, as that  
 fometimes after fermon in the forenoon he would  
 travel feveral miles on foot to hear another in the  
 afternoon. But he found the ear was not fa-  
 tisfied with hearing, as not being productive of  
 the clear difcovery of the way to falvation, the  
 knowledge of which was the earneft defire of  
 his foul. And as the finging of pfalms was one  
 part of their devotional exercife in the public  
 worfhip,

25.

Thomas  
Wilfon.

CHAP. worship, he found a stop in his own mind from  
 VI. joining in that part of their worship, from a se-  
 cret intelligence that men should be made holy,  
 1725. before they could sing to the praise and glory of  
 God; an attainment which he found, by an inspec-  
 tion into the state of his own mind, he was too def-  
 titute of; he also found himself disqualified to sing  
 under the present affection of his mind, which  
 was that of a Godly sorrow, from the heavy load  
 of sin.

About this time he went to a meeting of the  
 people called Quakers, where a friend exhorted  
 to *an inward waiting upon the Lord in faith, to*  
*receive power from him over every unclean thought,*  
*by which heavenly power, men might glorify and*  
*praise the name of the Lord, through the ability of*  
*his own free gift.* This affected him greatly, be-  
 ing sensible that this was what he much wanted,  
 and he was seized with fear and trembling to that  
 degree, that the table whereon he leaned was  
 shaken, and the cry of his soul was, *Lord, cre-*  
*ate in me a clean heart!* and being made sensible,  
 that what was to be known of God is manifest  
 in man, he was drawn off from a dependance  
 on the doctrines of men, and hearing the priests  
 and repeating their sermons, to turn his atten-  
 tion to the reproof of instruction in his own  
 heart, whereby he found sin discovered to be ex-  
 ceeding sinful, and all the evil that he had done  
 was detected, condemned and judged down by  
 the measure of light with which he was favoured,  
 producing that godly sorrow which leads to un-  
 feigned repentance. In this frame of mind he  
 sat down among friends in their silent meetings,  
 patiently enduring the dispensation of condem-  
 nation



nation for sin, till by the assistance of divine grace (for which he was fervent in prayer and diligent in waiting) he gradually experienced judgment brought forth unto victory.

C H A P.

IV.

1725.

Through a reverent attention to the inward teaching of the teacher which cannot be removed into a corner, in their silent assemblies friends becoming heavenly minded, and nearly united in love one to another, divine power was much felt, and inwardly revealed amongst them, when no words were spoken; and they experienced the washing of regeneration gradually cleansing their hearts, and the renewings of the holy ghost so filling their souls, that they were concerned of their fullness to minister to others. Amongst the rest, this friend felt it his duty to minister at first in a few words in great fear, but through fidelity improving the talent, and being enlarged in his gift, the word of the Lord, through him, was as a flame of fire against all sin and iniquity. And he soon felt an engagement on his mind, through the prevalence of the love shed abroad in his heart, to travel abroad, to edify his brethren with his gift, and to call sinners to repentance and amendment of life.

His first visit to Ireland was in the year 1682. He landed in Dublin, and from thence travelled to some other meetings, particularly in Leinster province, visiting friends in the counties of Wicklow and Wexford, and had several satisfactory meetings with them, after which he gives us this account in his journal. “ The motion of  
“ life in me for travelling ceased, and I durst  
“ not then go further, but returned back to the  
“ county of Wexford, and wrought harvest work  
“ for

CHAP. " for some time. After which James Dickenson  
 IV. " from Cumberland came to visit friends, with  
 ~~~~~ " an intention to go into Munster, and the Lord  
 1725. " was pleased to open my way to go with him,
 " and we travelled together in true brotherly
 " love, and had a prosperous journey; and I saw
 " it was good to wait the Lord's time in all
 " things." And when they had travelled through
 Leinster and Munster, James Dickenson went
 northward. " But" (continueth Thomas) " I
 " was afraid of running before my true guide,
 " (because they who run and are not sent of
 " God can neither profit the people nor them-
 " selves) and so I staid at work in the city of Wa-
 " terford about sixteen weeks, and went from
 " thence to Dublin, and staid the half year's
 " meeting, which was large and edifying, and
 " from thence took shipping for Liverpool, and
 " landed there with my former companion James
 " Dickenson.

In the year 1691 he and James Dickenson, having both had a great exercise on their minds to visit friends in America, went to London, and laid their intentions before their brethren there for their concurrence, which they readily received: But the circumstances of the time were very discouraging, and the prospect of the probable dangers which might attend them on their passage thither proved a close trial of their faith; for the French had a great fleet at sea, and the general rumour at London represented them to lie in their course, about thirty or forty leagues from the land's end. This occasioned in them much serious thoughtfulness and anxiety of heart, with fervent supplications for preservation in sub-
 mission

mission to the divine will; under which exercise of mind they received encouragement, by what they believed a heavenly vision, to hope for deliverance or preservation from surrounding danger. James had a clear foresight even of the very manner of their deliverance, and told his companion, even while they were both yet in London, that the Lord had shewn him that the French fleet would encompass them, but that the Lord would send a great mist and darkness between them, in which they should sail away, and see them no more.

They communicated their sensations to each other with openness, as companions united in one faith and one lively engagement for promoting pure religion, before they departed from London; and finding the impressions on their minds to agree, they were confirmed in their belief of the divine original thereof, and in faith that it was easy for the Lord to deliver them. Under this persuasion, in confidence in divine protection, they embarked the 9th day of 5^{mo} 1691, and after some time fell in with the French fleet, which chased and came up within musquet shot, and fired at them, when on a sudden a great mist and thick darkness arose between the French and them, so that they could not see one another. Then James arose from his seat, and taking his companion by the hand, said, "Now I hope the Lord will deliver us." Thomas had spent three days in fasting and supplication, that he who in time past smote his enemies with blindness, might condescend to interpose in like manner for their deliverance, which, they thought, was graciously answered

CHAP.

IV.

1725.

C H A P.

IV.

1725.

answered by the event, for the French took every ship in their company, except that in which they sailed and two others, and all on board looked upon their deliverance as miraculous. The other two ships coming up, the captain of their vessel called to those in the other two to come aboard his, in order to hold a religious meeting with them, which they readily did, and had a large and good meeting, in which they were engaged to return their grateful acknowledgments and thanksgivings to the author of all their mercies for their great deliverance. They pursued their voyage and landed in Barbadoes in the 6th month. Here, in conjunction with his companion, the services of our friend were great, as also in New England, Rhode-island, Long-island, Jerseys, Pennsylvania, &c. where many were convinced by his ministry. His visit was particularly serviceable to friends in Pennsylvania, happening at that juncture when many were wavering in their principles, through the opposition and separation of George Keith, of which an ample account hath been already given.*

He visited Ireland in the service of the gospel several times before he went to settle there. In the year 1695 he was married to Mary Bewley, of Woodhall, in the county of Cumberland, and soon after removed into Ireland, and settled near Edenderry, in the king's county. In the year 1696 he visited friends in England in the work of the ministry, and
again

* See vol. III. page 346.

again in Ireland after his return home, still ap-
 proving himself diligent in the discharge of
 manifested duty. He had meetings amongst
 those of other societies, in places where there
 were no settled meetings of friends, and several
 were so affected by his powerful preaching,
 that they were thereby convinced, received
 the truth in the love thereof, and continued
 steadfast in faithfulness thereunto. From
 the year 1697 to 1713, he repeatedly
 visited friends in the nation of his then
 residence and in England, within which space
 of time he attended the yearly meeting of
 London seven times.

C H A P.
 IV.
 1725.

In 1713 he undertook his second voyage to
 America, in conjunction with his former com-
 panion James Dickenson, in which visit he had
 also great service and great consolation in be-
 holding the fruits of his former labours there.

His outward occupation was that of an hus-
 bandman, and during the time of his remain-
 ing single, he spent many years in the prime
 of his days in travels in the work of the mi-
 nistry, in Great Britain, Ireland and America,
 and to keep himself unincumbered, he employ-
 ed himself in the humble station of a day la-
 bourer. About the 40th year of his age, en-
 tering into the married state, and removing to
 Ireland, as aforesaid, he took a farm, in which,
 through the divine blessing upon his care and
 industry, he was greatly prospered, having an
 abundant sufficiency of all things needful. Yet
 when his outward substance encreased, he was
 remarkable for preserving his primitive humi-
 lity and simplicity in his apparel, his table,
 his house and furniture; abstaining from all su-
 perfluity,

CHAP. perfluity, he confined his desires to things
 IV. which were plain, useful and needful, to the
 1725. last, confirming the testimony he had to bear
 to the simplicity of truth, by an example of
 true self-denial in these respects. And, altho'
 he managed his outward affairs with care, at-
 tention and skill, when at liberty to follow
 them, yet he kept them in their proper places,
 not suffering them to prevent him from a faith-
 ful discharge of his duty, as a member and
 minister of religious society, when he appre-
 hended a divine call to leave them behind.
 He continued a zealous and diligent labourer
 in the gospel, even in advanced years, visiting
 friends in England in the year 1721, and at
 home until the year 1724, when his natural
 strength failed. And now near the conclusion
 of his life, the review of the manner wherein
 he had spent his time, in the best service, that
 of his Maker, and of mankind, in sincere en-
 deavours to promote religion and righteousness
 in his generation, was now his consolation and
 crown of rejoicing. Yet as he was always an
 humble minded man, so with respect to him-
 self, near the finishing of his christian course,
 he said, "Notwithstanding the Lord hath made
 " use of me at times to be serviceable in his
 " hand, I have nothing to trust to, but the
 " mercy of God in Christ Jesus." But was
 not without an evidence of his everlasting peace
 in the kingdom of heaven.

As a minister he was very careful to wait
 for fresh ability to minister to edification, under
 the renewing of the Holy Ghost, under which
 sacred influence, he was often deeply opened
 into the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven,
 and

and his ministry attended with a reaching power and gospel authority, had a very persuasive and prevalent effect upon his audience, whereby many were convinced, many were converted to righteousness and confirmed in the truth. The excellency of his gift hath often affected strangers with surprize, to find such depth of matter, pertinence of expression and affecting energy, under an appearance of rustic simplicity.

CHAP.
IV.
1725.

He was also zealously engaged to give his assistance with his brethren in keeping up the hedge of discipline and good order in the church, under the like lively frame of spirit and authority of the gospel; his sentiments on the proper qualification for this service, are contained in the following remarks, which were found amongst his papers after his decease.

‘ As I was deeply exercised in my mind
‘ about the things of the living God, and the
‘ holy order of the blessed gospel of the Lord
‘ Jesus, it was opened to me, that all concern-
‘ ed friends that speak in men’s meetings,
‘ ought to wait for a due inward feeling of the
‘ heavenly gift; and as that gave an under-
‘ standing, then speak in, and minister in the
‘ order of Jesus, which is holy, and all that
‘ then speak will be for promoting the way of
‘ truth, and keeping all the professors thereof
‘ in faithfulness and true obedience to the
‘ Lord. I being thus in a travail of spirit, the
‘ state of men’s meetings as they now are was
‘ set before me; and I saw three sorts of men
‘ speaking, and they were in three paths, one
‘ sort was on the right hand, where they ran
‘ on in their own wills, and were very fierce

C H A P. IV. 1725. ‘ for order but not in a right spirit, they were
‘ the cause of long discourses, and greatly dis-
‘ pleased the Lord and his faithful people. I
‘ saw another path to the left hand, and there
‘ was a great darkness, and a stiff-neck’d peo-
‘ ple that was for breaking down the orders
‘ and good rules that the Lord has established
‘ in his church, then my soul was filled with
‘ sorrow and cries to the Lord, seeing the
‘ great danger both these were in. Then the
‘ Lord was pleased to show me, a middle path,
‘ and the Lord’s people were in it, and had
‘ the strong line of justice and true judgment, the
‘ Lord’s holy Spirit and heavenly power is their
‘ guide. I am moved to warn all you that are
‘ stiff and sturdy in your own wills, to stand
‘ still and turn in your minds to the heavenly
‘ gift, in it is the true wisdom and heavenly
‘ knowledge; and you will learn to know what
‘ the good and acceptable will of the Lord is,
‘ and if you speak in the meeting it will be to
‘ please God and for his honour, not your own,
‘ for you strive for honour in a carnal mind,
‘ and seek not the honour of the Lord, but are
‘ in great presumption.’

C H A P. V.

George II. Accession to the Throne.—Friends address the King on the Occasion.—This Society still exposed to heavy Sufferings for Ecclesiastical Demands.—List of enormous Sufferings of the People called Quakers presented to the House of Commons, which is strongly opposed by the Clergy.—Remarks upon two Pamphlets written against it.—Extracts from the Country Parson's Plea and the Answer thereto.—Petitions sent up against the Bill.—Is passed in the House of Commons and sent up to the Lords.—After a long Debate is lost in the House of Lords.—Address of Thanks to the Bishops of London and Salisbury.—Remark thereupon.—Defence of the Opposition thereto.—Remarks thereupon.

WHEN the account of the late king's death was received, his son George the second succeeded to the government of the British dominions. Addresses of condolence and congratulation being presented to him by both houses of parliament, were followed by many others. And the people called Quakers, who were real friends to the Hanoverian succession, esteemed themselves engaged, in point of gratitude, for the extension of their religious and civil liberties

C H A P.

V.

1728

George the 2ds accession to the throne.

C H A P. ties in the late reign, and the particular indul-
 V. gence they had been favoured with therein, to
 1728. wait upon the new king with an address upon
 the occasion.

It hath been before remarked, that since the revolution and the benevolence of king William's parliament had granted dissenters the act of exemption from the penal statutes, under which they had so deeply suffered in the preceding reigns, and the legal rule of the house of Hanover, had maintained them in the full fruition of the benefits thereof, that materials for the continuation of this history are less abundant, than they were previous to that period: of the two subjects of suffering, to which they were left exposed, from one they were effectually relieved in the late reign, viz. that arising from their testimony in regard to oaths; but in respect to the other, of tithes and ecclesiastical demands, they have been frequently exposed, since that period, to heavy sufferings both in person and estate. For although the legislature, which in the 7th and 8th years of king William's reign, granted them the first act for accepting their solemn affirmation, instead of an oath in the usual form, * added a clause pointing out an easier and less expensive method of recovering tithes and church rates (so called) extending that called the 40s. act to 10s. for Quakers tithe, to be determined in a summary manner by two justices of peace, and levied by their warrant: yet as the said act contained no restraining clause, to prevent the clergy from applying to the more grievous and oppressive prosecutions in the Exchequer
 and

This society still exposed to heavy suffering for ecclesiastical demands.

* See vol. iii. p. 408.

and Ecclesiastical Courts, many of them manifested a disposition to persecution still, as far as their hands were not tied up by the letter of the law, by applying to these more ruinous methods; and when an easy, ready and unexpensive mode of recovery is in their power, what is it but persecution to attempt the ruin of a man, or prosecute him to perpetual imprisonment on account of a conscientious scruple?

About this time a catalogue of such grievous sufferings was drawn up by the meeting for sufferings, in order in due time to be laid before the public and the legislature: but a more perfect one in 1736, which is here subjoined.

CHAP.
V.
1728.
List of enormous sufferings.

An account of many prosecutions carried on against the people called Quakers for tithes and church rates, Easter-offerings, &c. under the respective heads, and in the several courts following, for sums demanded not exceeding ten pounds value, since the act of the 7th and 8th of king William the third, which provided for recovering of tithe and church rates under the value of 10*l.* in a summary way, with an account of the prisoners committed by process out of the several courts, some of whom continued prisoners to the time of their death, some ten years, others less, whereby several families have been reduced to the necessity of being supported by the charity of their friends.

An INDEX of the Number of PROSECUTIONS.

| Counties. | <i>In the
Excheq.</i> | <i>In the
Ec. Courts</i> | <i>In other
Courts.</i> | <i>In all.</i> | <i>Imprisoned.</i> | <i>Died
Prisoners</i> |
|--------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| Bedfordshire | 6 | 7 | 1 | 14 | 2 | 0 |
| Berkshire | 6 | 13 | 1 | 20 | 3 | 0 |
| Buckingham. | 11 | 3 | 2 | 16 | 8 | 0 |
| Cambridgsh. | 12 | 5 | 1 | 18 | 9 | 0 |
| Cheshire | 1 | 11 | 0 | 12 | 2 | 0 |
| Cornwal | 12 | 9 | 1 | 22 | 6 | 0 |
| Cumberland | 37 | 10 | 11 | 58 | 27 | 3 |
| Derbyshire | 3 | 5 | 1 | 9 | 3 | 0 |
| Devonshire | 15 | 18 | 0 | 33 | 8 | 0 |
| Dorsetshire | 2 | 4 | 4 | 10 | 2 | 0 |
| Durham | 6 | 9 | 2 | 17 | 10 | 0 |
| Effex | 42 | 6 | 9 | 57 | 9 | 0 |
| Glocesterfh. | 20 | 3 | 2 | 25 | 3 | 0 |
| Hampshire | 19 | 2 | 1 | 22 | 6 | 0 |
| Hertfordsh. | 4 | 8 | 6 | 18 | 3 | 0 |
| Herefordsh. | 4 | 2 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| Huntington. | 4 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 0 |
| Kent | 16 | 11 | 0 | 27 | 4 | 0 |
| Lancashire | 2 | 2 | 16 | 20 | 11 | 0 |
| Leicesterfh. | 6 | 11 | 0 | 17 | 6 | 1 |
| Lincolnshire | 16 | 5 | 4 | 25 | 4 | 0 |
| London | 23 | 19 | 0 | 42 | 1 | 0 |
| Middlesex | 74 | 6 | 6 | 86 | 9 | 0 |
| Norfolk | 20 | 7 | 2 | 29 | 8 | 0 |
| Northampt. | 8 | 13 | 4 | 25 | 10 | 0 |
| Nottingham. | 6 | 5 | 1 | 12 | 3 | 0 |
| Oxfordshire | 17 | 1 | 4 | 22 | 4 | 0 |
| Rutlandshire | 1 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 0 |
| Somerfetsh. | 76 | 22 | 9 | 107 | 30 | 1 |
| Staffordsh. | — | 9 | 1 | 10 | 4 | 0 |
| Suffolk | 24 | 7 | 1 | 32 | 5 | 0 |
| Surry | 34 | 21 | 21 | 76 | 13 | 0 |
| Suffex | 36 | 3 | 4 | 43 | 11 | 1 |
| Warwicksh. | 8 | 18 | 3 | 29 | 6 | 1 |
| Westmorl. | 5 | 2 | 2 | 9 | 4 | 0 |
| Wiltshire | 12 | 6 | 0 | 18 | 4 | 0 |
| Worcesterfh. | 4 | 10 | 8 | 22 | 5 | 0 |
| Yorkshire | 55 | 61 | 20 | 136 | 46 | 2 |
| Wales | 12 | 10 | 5 | 27 | 9 | 0 |
| | 659 | 367 | 154 | 1180 | 302 | 9 |

| From 1704 to 1722. | <i>Sums
demanded</i> | | | <i>Value taken</i> | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------|-----------|--------------------|-----------|-----------|--|
| | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> | |
| James Haviland | 8 | 0 | 0 | 61 | 0 | 0 | |
| Thomas Strong | 1 | 10 | 6 | 15 | 11 | 6 | |
| Richard Cafe | | 13 | 0 | 37 | 11 | 6 | By Sequestration |
| Thomas Drape | 4 | 10 | 1 | 50 | 0 | 0 | |
| Robert Holiday | | 11 | 6 | 60 | 0 | 0 | By Sequestration |
| Richard Allen | 1 | 15 | 6 | 80 | 0 | 0 | By Do. |
| Henry Wake | 1 | 4 | 6 | 30 | 0 | 0 | By Do. |
| Joseph J. Williams | 2 | 0 | 0 | 30 | 0 | 0 | By Do. |
| John Taylor | 1 | 5 | 8 | 44 | 18 | 0 | |
| Alexander Moore | 6 | 15 | 11 | 87 | 16 | 11 | Imprisoned |
| Jeremiah Ellis | 1 | 0 | 0 | 44 | 0 | 0 | |
| George Bewley | 3 | 10 | 0 | 93 | 10 | 0 | |
| Samuel Tulley & }
Thomas Warner } | 3 | 2 | 8 | 75 | 16 | 0 | |
| William Pearfon | | 13 | 0 | 19 | 16 | 0 | |
| Jonathan Peasley | 7 | 0 | 0 | 237 | 5 | 0 | { And twice im-
prisoned |
| Daniel Williams | | 1 | 6 | 20 | 0 | 0 | { In Goods & Es-
tate worth 80l.
and 15 Months
Imprisonment |
| Abram Butterfield | 8 | 0 | 0 | 90 | 0 | 0 | |
| Roger Jenkins | | 14 | 6 | 84 | 10 | 6 | By Sequestration |
| Thomas Jenkins | 1 | 5 | 0 | 67 | 10 | 0 | By Do. |
| Thomas Ellwood | | 12 | 0 | 24 | 7 | 6 | |

The above Sums are exclusive of their own Expense in those Suits, and suffering many Imprisonments in the Course of the Proceedings, and these are only a Few among the many we could produce.

N. B. These Accounts appear to be drawn up about the Year 1728.

C H A P. V. In the year 1736, they also presented a petition and the annexed case to the parliament then sitting.

CASE OF THE
people called
Quakers pre-
sented to
parliament.

The Case of the People called Quakers.

In the seventh and eighth years of the reign of king William the third, an act was passed for the more easy recovery of small tithes, offerings, oblations, obventions or compositions, not exceeding the yearly value of 40s. from any one person in a summary way, by justices warrant; which was continued by an act of the eleventh and twelfth of the said king, and was made perpetual by an act of the third and fourth of queen Anne.

In the seventh and eighth years of the reign of king William the third, in an act for accepting the solemn affirmation of the people called Quakers, like remedy is provided for the recovery of tithes and church rates from Quakers, who shall refuse to pay the same, the sum not exceeding 10l. which act being temporary was continued by a subsequent act, and was by an act of the first of king George the first, extended to all rates customary or other rights, dues or payments, belonging to any church or chapel; to be paid for the maintenance of any minister or curate in any church or chapel.

These acts, it is humbly conceived, were intended not only for the ease of the prosecutor, but also to prevent oppression and ruinous prosecutions.

Notwithstanding which, there have been prosecuted in the exchequer, ecclesiastical and other courts, in England and Wales, for demands

mands recoverable by the said act, above C H A P.
 eleven hundred of the people called Quakers, ^{V.}
 of whom near three hundred were committed 1736.
 to prison, and several of them died prisoners.

Those prosecutions, though frequently commenced for trivial sums, from 4*d.* to 5*s.* and great part of them, for sums not exceeding 40*s.* have been attended with such heavy costs and rigorous executions, that above 800*l.* has been taken from ten persons, where the original demands upon all of them collectively, did not amount to 15*l.*

By such prosecutions, the favourable intent of the aforesaid acts, is in a great measure frustrated; and many of the said people suffer as if no such laws were in being: though christian charity must admit, that their refusal of such demands is purely conscientious, since no reasonable man, considering his circumstances and family would incur such severe sufferings on any other account.

'Tis therefore, humbly submitted, whether such prosecutions, frequently attended with excommunications and imprisonments, be not grievances which call for redress, and whether it be not reasonable to restrain the prosecutors from proceedings so ruinous and destructive.

In pursuance of this petition and case, a bill for their relief, was brought into the house of commons, and printed; when the clergy mustered all their strength against it, whereby they manifested themselves no less eager to hold fast the power of oppression, which the law had left them, in the recovery of the tithe than the tithe itself. Three anonymous pamphlets soon made their appearance, reported to be all the productions

C H A P.

V.

1736.

productions of bishops. Two of them appear so little to the purpose, as to bring little credit to their authors, or little strength to the cause; but the third, supposed to be written by the then bishop of London, a strenuous advocate for ecclesiastical power, (the author of *Codex juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani* ably answered by judge Foster) handled the subject more fully and more artfully in a pamphlet under the title of *the Country Parson's Plea, against the Quaker's Bill for Tithes, &c.* This piece received a copious and spirited answer, in a letter to the author, by [one who styles himself] a member of the house of commons, but was afterward found to be lord Hervey. But even men of parts and penetration engaged in varnishing a doubtful cause, will sometimes forget themselves, and yielding to the impulse of reason and truth, at one stroke overturn all they have been labouring to establish: thus the country parson, after racking his invention, endeavouring to shew the hardships to which this bill would expose him, seems in the conclusion fairly to own, that no wise or good clergyman would apply to any other than the method prescribed by the bill. And of consequence he had been laboriously advocating the cause of those parsons only, who are neither wise nor good. His antagonist who hath overlooked no part of his plea, upon this paragraph, argues thus, “ If
 “ the wisest and best use it of choice, this
 “ will be an argument that the unreasonable
 “ and unjust should be restrained to it; for are
 “ the subjects of England to have no better security against oppression than the wisdom and
 “ goodness of the clergy? or ought the clergy
 “ to

“ to be trusted with a power, which according C H A P.
 “ to the parson’s confession, neither a wise cler- V.
 “ gyman nor a good clergyman can use with- 1736.
 “ out mischief either to himself or his neighbour.
 “ Where the power of oppression is, acts of op-
 “ pression will undoubtedly be.”

But the bishops did not trust their cause only 1737.
 to these pamphlets. * Circular letters were
 written to the clergy, in all or most parts
 of the kingdom, in consequence of which, peti-
 tions were presented against the bill, by the
 clergy of Middlesex, and most other parts of
 England and Wales. Counsel was heard in
 behalf of the petitioners, and several alterations
 proposed in the bill, which after long repeated
 debates surmounted all opposition, and was sent
 up to the lords. The bill
 passeth in
 the house
 of com-
 mons.

In the house of lords the bill was read a first
 time; many petitions were here also presented
 against it. The petitioners were ordered to be
 heard by their counsel upon the second reading,
 and it was ordered, that counsel in favour of the
 bill should be heard at the same time. Upon
 the second reading of the bill, they were heard
 for and against it, and after they had finished and
 were withdrawn, a motion was made for com-
 mitting

* The country parson’s respondent remarks, that, the bill
 ought to pass were it only for an example, that it is not in
 the power of a *mitred doctor*, by his *letters missive*, stirring up
 petitions from every diocese, to intimidate an house of com-
 mons, in a matter of this high concern to the justice of the
 kingdom. “ I hope,” says he, “ a body of English gentle-
 “ men will never weigh petitions in quantity against any
 “ bill whatever; especially bills for the reformation of the
 “ church, against which they are certain of having as many
 “ remonstrances, as there are deaneries, archdeaconries,
 “ chapters, colleges or ecclesiastical precincts in England and
 “ Wales.”

C H A P. V. mitting the bill, whereupon a very long debate ensued.

1737.

The motion was made by lord H——n (supposed Hinton) supported by lords Hervey and Carteret, the duke of Argyle and earl of Ilay, and opposed by the bishop of Salisbury, the lord Chancellor, lords Hardwick and Lovell. But after the merits of the case were debated at large, the reality of the grievances and the unreasonableness of the sufferings of the petitioners being too manifest to be evaded, a new argument was taken up against the scheme of the bill, as it came from the commons; that it was very imperfect, and so incorrect as to render it unfit in its present form, to be passed into a law; and that the session was so far advanced, as did not allow time for altering and amending it. This being urged as a reason against committing the bill at this time, and the question being put, upon a division, it was carried in the negative by 54 not-contents to 35 contents. The strenuous and united exertions of the clergy, and the weight of their interest preponderated, and the bill was lost.

But is
thrown out
in the
house of
lords.

In the majority we find fifteen bishops,* three of whom were commonly reported to have early taken up their pens in opposition to the petition of the people called Quakers, and the bill intended for their relief; two of these, the bishop of London and the bishop of Salisbury seem to have distinguished themselves by an extraordinary zeal, not only for preserving the claims of the clergy unimpaired, but the power of continuing to be vexatious and oppressive in the recovery

* The third, the bishop of Litchfield and Coventry.

covery thereof, when either their disgust or interest might influence them thereto. As they are particularly distinguished by an address of thanks voted by the clergy of their respective dioceses; the former from the clergy of London to their bishop, for the many and great “instances of his care and vigilance in maintaining the constitution of the church of England, in its present happy establishment, and the legal rights of the clergy; and in particular for the steady and vigorous opposition, which he had lately given to the attempt that had been lately made upon them.” The latter from the clergy in the neighbourhood of Devizes, Wiltshire, “to manifest the grateful sense they retain of their preservation from that strange and unheard of infringement of their rights, which was lately attempted by the Quakers in their tithe bill, to return him their humble and hearty thanks, for the indefatigable pains he had taken, and the firm stand he made, agreeable to the trust and duty of his high station, in defence of their just and indisputable privileges.”

CHAP.
V.
1737.
Address
from the
clergy to
the bishops
of London
and Salis-
bury.

From these clerical representations of the proceeding of the people called Quakers, it seems they think it a criminal design against the constitution of the church of England, in its present establishment, a strange and unheard of infringement of their rights, to apply to the legislature for a redress of real grievances, when these grievances arise from the undue exercise of power, in the hands of the ecclesiastics; and that to oppress, imprison for life, and ruin a neighbour in his estate or circumstances, is the just and indisputable privilege of the priesthood.

Whereas

C H A P. V. Whereas, candidly I think it would be more for the honour, the service and real interest of any church, to have all such things rectified or removed, as administer just occasion of offence and reproach, and are in their own natures *indisputably* wrong.

London
Mag. July,
1737.

A misre-
presentati-
on of fact.

In an anonymous piece published about this time, under the title of, *A modest defence of the opposition lately given to the Quaker's Bill*, I find a gross misrepresentation of fact, either for want of being acquainted with the true state of the fact; or knowingly, in which latter case the writer is inexcusable, he saith, "If people suffered themselves to be imposed upon by false representations of the clergy's having abused the liberty out of *malice* or *ill-will*, they know whom to blame."

"The Quakers were early challenged without doors, to make good a charge so injurious to the character of the clergy, by assigning particular instances of such abuse. The same motion is said to have been made, but in vain, in one house of parliament; and when it succeeded in another house, the few instances they alledged (not above four or five, if I am rightly informed) and those so little to the purpose, when enquired into, as shewed how great reason they and their friends had to guard against the specification of particulars. And it was astonishing to hear them plead *unpreparedness*, after they had represented those abuses in the gross, (to the number of one thousand) as the only foundation of their bill."

Now by the real state of the case it will appear that,

1. That

1. The people called Quakers made no false representation of the clergy's having abused the liberty, &c. in publishing a list of the grievous sufferings of their friends, in cases wherein they might have recovered their claims in a more easy way.

C H A P.
V.
: 737
Reflections
thereupon.

2. That when they were early challenged to make good their charge by assigning particular instances of such abuse; they answered the challenge by producing a specification of the grievances complained of with as much expedition as the nature of the case would admit.

3. That his information was very wrong, if he was informed, that "the *instances alledged* *were not* above four or five," whereas they were more than twice as many hundred, and the greatest part so much to the purpose, as clearly shewed (*not* "how great reason they, and their friends, had to guard against the specification of particulars," but) *how great reason they had to petition for redress of grievances so severe and oppressive.*

The following cases extracted from which, may, with many others, clearly evince that the application of this people, for the redress of grievances, so severe and distressing was very reasonable and requisite, and the opposition thereto, no instance of a tender regard to the maxims of christianity or humanity.

1. Grievous Prosecutions for trivial Demands.

[*Bedfordshire*, 1707.] William Francis, of Luton, a poor shoe-maker, was prosecuted in the ecclesiastical
Vol. IV. U court,

C H A P
V.

court, at the suit of Christopher Eaton, vicar; for a demand of *one great*, for Easter-offerings so warmly, that the charges of the prosecution came to eighty pounds. The poor man was excommunicated, and lay close confined in Bedford jail above 19 months, till an act of grace came out, and set him at liberty.

[1702.] Adam Laurence and Eliz. Vokins, prosecuted in the ecclesiastical court, at the suit of John Piggott and Thomas Price, wardens of the parish of West-Charlow; were committed to Reading jail, on a writ *de Excommunicato capiendo*, on the 18th of the month called January, 1702, and continued prisoners between six and seven years, till discharged by an act of grace in 1709: a long imprisonment for a demand of about nine shillings from both of them!

[1703.] John Tydd of Chatteris, was prosecuted in the Exchequer, at the suit of William Turkington, parson of Chatteris; for a demand of thirty-four shillings, for two years small tithes, and was committed to Cambridge castle, on the 14th of the month called August, 1703, and continued prisoner, above six years and two months, till discharged by an act of grace, on the 28th of October, 1709.

[*Cornwal*, 1704.] Richard Hitchins, was prosecuted in the Exchequer for tithes, at the suit of Stephen Hugoc, vicar of the parish called St. Austell. The parson was advised by several persons of distinction, to take his tithe by justice's warrant; but he turned the deaf ear to all their persuasions, and would proceed in the Exchequer. The tithe adjudged him by the barons was but one pound nineteen shillings and six pence, for which the costs of suit were taxed at thirty-eight pounds; for non-payment whereof, the poor man was committed prisoner to the sheriff's ward, at Bodmin, on the 13th of the month called May, 1707, and continued close prisoner there three years one month and two days, and then removed himself to the King's Bench prison at London, where he remained a prisoner till the 7th of the month called May, 1714: so that the whole time of his imprisonment

ment was seven years, for an original demand of one pound nineteen shillings and six pence. C H A P. V.

[*Cumberland*, 1701.] Ann Henderfon, Widow, and her son Robert Henderfon, prosecuted in the Common Pleas, at the suit of Thomas Story, parson of Banton; were arrested on the 12th of the Month called June, 1701, (though the writ, upon search made afterward, bore date on the 17th.) Upon trial the Jury gave a verdict for one penny damages, it being for tithe-wool. They were imprisoned 11 months, and released by an act of grace.

[*Lancashire*, 1719.] Israel Fell, prosecuted for tithes, at the suit of William Turton, parson of Standish; was a prisoner four years for tithe, but of one shilling value; and then discharged upon the death of the prosecutor.

[*Middlesex*.] William Jackson, Robert Chalkley, Arnold Frowd, John Beale, Jonathan Wood, John Constantine and John Marshall, were prosecuted in the Exchequer, for Easter-offerings and small tithes, at the suit of John Wright vicar of Stepney. The rates set upon Easter-offerings, and tithes claimed by the said John Wright, in his bill of complaint against them preferred in the Exchequer, were as followeth,

| | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|---|-----------|-----------|
| For Easter-Offerings upon }
every person, } | 0 | 3 |
| A Cock, — — — | 0 | 2 |
| A Hen, — — — | 0 | 1 |
| A Goose, — — — | 0 | 4 |
| A Duck, — — — | 0 | 4 |
| A Sow, — — — | 1 | 8 |
| A Cow, — — — | 0 | 6 |
| Turnips for every acre sowed }
in the field, — } | 4 | 0 |

The said vicar also made claim upon gardens, orchards, calves, lambs, wool and milk, in his said bill of complaint. Whereas 'tis known, that the persons aforesaid, being most of them inhabitants in and near Spittlefields (and John Constantine in Ratcliff) their places of habitation allow not the keeping such things,

C H A P. they not using lands; some of them being mean shop-
 V. keepers, and others such as laboured honestly for their own and families subsistence, therefore, not capable of being stocked or possessed of such goods, as were mentioned in the bill.

The aforesaid prosecution was carried on to the imprisonment of four of the said persons, viz. Robert Chalkley, John Constantine, William Jackson and John Beale, who were committed to Newgate on the 8th day of November, 1703, upon attachments, at the suit of John Wright, vicar of the said parish of Stepney. The said John Constantine, was discharged from his imprisonment in the year 1708, being about five years after.

[*Warwickshire*, 1705.] Jane Robinson of Austrey, widow, was prosecuted in the Exchequer for tithes, at the suit of Charles Wainwright, parson of Austrey. The parson's demand was for tithes of apples, &c. 2s. 8d. and of bees, 8d. the poor widow was committed to Warwick jail, and lay there about nine months.

[*Westmorland*, 1701.] Thomas Savage of Clifton, prosecuted for tithes, at the suit of Rowland Burrough, clerk of Browham and Clifton, was arrested and committed to prison, in the month called January, 1701, and continued prisoner till November, 1702, for a demand of 3s. 4d. for tithes. Upon application to the judge who went that circuit, he was directed to move the court of King's Bench, which motion being afterward made, he was discharged.

[*Yorkshire*, 1699.] Edward Walker of Thornton le Moor, in the parish of little Otterton, was prosecuted in the Exchequer, at the suit of John Walker, parson of little Otterton; for one year's composition for tithes, amounting to about 3s. 4d. and was committed to York castle, on the 21st of October, 1699, and remained prisoner about nine years and three quarters, till discharged by superseas upon an act of grace on the 20th of the month called July, 1709.

2. Exorbitant

2. Exorbitant Distraints.

[*Buckinghamshire*, 1719.] Abraham Barber, Thomas Olliffe and Nicholas Larcum, were prosecuted in the Exchequer, at the suit of John Higgs the elder, and John Higgs the younger, tithe-farmers. The demand on Barber, Olliffe and Larcum, was but eight shillings for tithe on all three of them, and the decree of the court but for four shillings. They were all taken up by an attachment in November, 1721, and carried to Ailsbury jail. On the 20th and 22d of October, 1722, the goods of the said Abraham Barber were seized for the whole demand and charges, viz.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|-------------------------------------|-------|----|------|
| 7 Quarters and 4 bushels of Wheat, | 11 | 0 | 0 |
| 16 Quarters of Malt London measure, | 12 | 16 | 0 |
| For a demand of 8s. | Taken | 23 | 16 0 |

[1707.] Thomas Ellwood, Abraham Butterfield and William Catch, were prosecuted in the Exchequer, at the suit of Joshua Leaper, tithe-farmer under Humphrey Drake, rector of Amersham.

The original demand for tithes on } £. s. d.
 Thomas Ellwood was about 12s. for
 which he had taken from him, house- } 24 7 6
 hold goods, and an horse, worth

On A. Butterfield 7 or 8l. for which }
 he had taken from him, corn, hay, } 90 0 8
 and cattle, worth — —

On W. Catch between 7 & 8l. for which }
 he had taken, grassworth 8l. 14s. 8d. } 20 19 8
 5 years rent of a tenemt. 12l. 5s. 0d. }

[*Gloucestershire*, 1716.] Jonathan Peasley, late of Just in the parish of Olveston, was prosecuted in the Exchequer, at the suit of Benjamin Bayly, vicar of Olveston. The vicar's demand on Jonathan Peasley was for three and a half, or four years, small tithes of about seven pounds value. He was committed to Gloucester

C H A P. V. cester jail, and the next term, brought up by *Habeas Corpus* to the Exchequer, and set at liberty: But the vicar soon after renewing his suit, Peasley was brought to the Exchequer again in 1717, and committed to the Fleet; and proceeded against to a *Sequestration*, by which was seized and taken from him in December, 1717,

| | £. | s. | d. |
|--|-------|-----|-----|
| 14 Cows, 6 heifers and 3 yearlings, valued at | 77 | 0 | 0 |
| A wheat mow, a bean mow, and about }
20 bushels of beans, — — — | 19 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 Beds, 2 Bedsteads and Bedding, | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 Sides of bacon, 10 hundred of cheese, | 13 | 5 | 0 |
| All the rest of the goods in and about }
the house, — — — — | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| Three ricks of hay, — — — | 12 | 0 | 0 |
| 7 <i>l.</i> <i>per Annum</i> free land during his life, | 70 | 0 | 0 |
| For about 7 <i>l.</i> value | Taken | 237 | 5 0 |

N. B. The said vicar did threaten to ruin the said Jonathan Peasley of his stock and estate, and all that he had: and executed it in a great measure; for by his seizure the poor man was left not worth ten pounds, yet had a wife and three small children.

[*Somersetshire*, 1712.] Charles Bewsey and his wife, were prosecuted in the Exchequer, at the suit of Hugh Lambert, parson of Mudford, for a demand of 7*l.* 10*s.* for tithes. Charles was first taken up, on an attachment in November, 1712. In September, 1713, he and his wife were committed to prison, and kept close prisoners from their family of seven children; and in the month called January following, were brought up to London, and then had liberty given them till the next term. On the 15th of the month called June, 1714, they were again brought up to the Exchequer bar, and committed to the Fleet prison. In the month called April, 1717, his goods were seized to the value of 9*l.* 15*s.* also his freehold estate worth about 30*l.* *per Annum*, which with the fruit

fruit the first year was worth thirty six pounds: CHAP. V.
 Also another estate of upwards of twenty pounds
per Annum, kept two years, forty pounds. So that he
 had taken from him in all, to the value of 85*l.* 15*s.*
 (beside his suffering imprisonment above five years)
 for an original demand of 7*l.* 10*s.*

[*Wales*, 1721.] Daniel Williams of Langhorne, in South Wales, was prosecuted in the Chancery court of the grand Sessions of Carmarthen for tithes, at the suit of Thomas Philips, vicar. His demand on Daniel Williams was about 1*s.* 6*d.* and his son, not a Quaker, tendered the vicar 5*s.* before any prosecution began, bidding him take his due for his father's tithe; but the vicar refused it, and replied, Daniel *must suffer*. He was committed to Carmarthen jail on the 16th of the month called August, 1721. On the 22d of the same month he was brought into court, and recommitted to prison, where he continued about fifteen months. On the 25th of the same month, an order of court was issued for entering upon and sequestering all his estate real and personal; which was afterward executed: his goods, worth about 20*l.* were seized and disposed of without appraisalment. His freehold estate, worth about 80*l.* was also seized: the persons who made the seizure, would not permit the said Daniel's daughter, then in the house, to take her own wearing apparel, till persuaded to it, with much ado, by one of their own company: they turned her out of doors, lockt up the house, and took the key with them. On the 12th of September, 1724, the said Daniel by his council, moved the court, that the said sequestration might be discharged; whereupon it was referred to the register to examine, and certify whether the same did regularly issue out, or not: upon his report in the affirmative, the sequestration was confirmed; and an order of court was made, requiring the said Daniel to pay the plaintiff his costs of the said reference, which were taxed at 3*l.* 9*s.* 3*d.*

3. Repeated Prosecutions of the same Persons.

[*Buckinghamshire*, 1704.] John Babington was prosecuted for tithes, four years successively, at the suit of Leonard Fuller, parson of Sherington: in 1704, in the Common Pleas for treble damages: in 1705, in the Exchequer: in 1706, in the Ecclesiastical Court: in 1707, in the Common Pleas. The first of which issued in the seizure of his cattle, to the value of above 40*l.* for 7*l.* 16*s.* demanded. The second, in his imprisonment in Ailbury jail, on an attachment. The third, in his imprisonment there, on a writ *de Excommunicato capiendo*. And the fourth, in a seizure of his goods to the value of above 100*l.* for a demand of 25*l.* for two years tithe; one of which appears to be the same, for which he had been excommunicated and imprisoned before.

[*Cumberland*.] Robert Atkinson, of Laurence Holme, was prosecuted in the Exchequer for tithes, at the suit of Sir George Fletcher, impropiator. He was first imprisoned at Carlisle: in the month called May, 1698, he was removed by *Habeas Corpus* to London, and committed to the Fleet prison, about 230 miles from his wife and family. While he continued prisoner in the Fleet, the suit was carried on to a sequestration, and in the year 1700, his corn and cattle were seized to the value of 58*l.* besides which, in 1701, they made two other seizures, and detained from him an horse and cow worth 6*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* in all, 64*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* for a demand of 26*l.* An Order was also issued for seizing the real estate of the said Robert Atkinson, but before the attorney had time to execute it, the plaintiff, Sir George Fletcher, died.

[1703.] Robert Atkinson, aforesaid, was again prosecuted in the Exchequer, for tithes, at the suit of Henry Fletcher, impropiator. He was committed to Carlisle jail, in the month called May, 1708; and discharged in the month called July, 1709, by an act of general

general pardon. In 1710, the said Henry Fletcher C H A P.
V. subpœna'd him again into the Exchequer; but that suit ended soon after by the death of the prosecutor. He had during the process against him, his corn and cattle seized at one time to the value of 58*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.* at another time goods worth 15*l.* and at a third time to the value of 3*l.*

[*Derbyshire*, 1711.] William Hancock of Cutthorpe, was prosecuted in the Exchequer, at the suit of Richard Milner and John Woodward, tithe-farmers, and again in the next year, 1712, in the Common Pleas. He was taken up by an attachment out of the Exchequer, and committed to the common jail at Chesterfield, on the 13th of October, 1711, and continued prisoner till the 25th of the month called March 1712, and was then set at liberty by the prosecutor's order, who dropt his suit in the Exchequer; and soon after proceeded against him in the Common Pleas for treble damages, got an execution, and for an original demand of 16*s.* 9*d.* for six years, made a seizure of his household goods, and a cow, to the value of 20*l.* leaving him nothing of value for the use of his wife and children.

[*Worcestershire*, 1700.] Isaac Averill, of Broadway, was prosecuted for tithes, on the statute for treble damages, at the suit of the Lady Coventry. The jury found the value of the tithe for three years, 13*l.* and an execution was awarded for 39*l.* treble damages: his goods were taken by distress, to the value of 59*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Isaac Averill, aforesaid, was prosecuted for tithes, on the statute for treble damages, at the suit of Anthony Stevens, renter, of one fourth part of his tithes. The tithes claimed by Stevens amounted to at most but 2*l.* 10*s.* for which the goods of the said Averill were seized by William Geatly and William Westwood, bailiffs, to the value of 31*l.* 5*s.*

[1703.] Isaac Averill of Broadway, was prosecuted for tithes, on the statute for treble damages, at the suit of John Phillips, John Davies and William Lampitt, tithe-farmers under the Lady Coventry, for three
fourth

CHAP. fourth parts of his tithes. The tithe due from Averill
 V. for one year, to the renters of the three fourth parts,
 on trial appeared to be but 4*l.* 6. 8*d.* for which were
 taken from him grain, hay, straw, &c. worth
 38*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.*

[1709.] Isaac Averill, aforefaid, was profecuted for
 tithes, on the statute for treble adammages, at the fuit
 of Anthony Stevens, renter, of one fourth part of his
 tithes. The faid Isaac Averill, for 5*l.* 5*s.* demanded
 by Stevens, had taken from him in the year 1709,
 corn, bedding, and other goods, worth 44*l.* 4*s.*

[1710.] Isaac Averill was again profecuted on the
 fame statute for tithes, by the aforefaid Anthony
 Stevens. In 1710, he had taken from him for a de-
 mand of 5*l.* 5*s.* goods worth 52*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

[1711.] Isaac Averill, aforefaid, was profecuted on
 fame statute, at the fuit of the aforefaid John Philips,
 John Davies and William Lampits. In 1711, for
 tithes of 13*l.* fingle value, he had taken away, his
 horfes, waggon, plough, cart, and corn, to the value
 of 65*l.* 11*s.*

N. B. The faid Isaac Averill, at fix feveral times,
 for tithes amounting in the whole but to 43*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*
 had taken from him goods worth 291*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*

4. The following Persons with others laid down their Lives in Prifon.

[*Cumberland*, 1702.] Mable Henderson, of Kirk-
 banton in *Cumberland*, was profecuted for fmall
 tithes, at the fuit of Thomas Story, prieft of Banton,
 and committed prifoner to Carlifle jail, on the 7th of
 September, 1702, and died a prifoner.

[1715]. Thomas Wilkinfon, William Caddy, An-
 thony Skelton, Richard Kirkbride, John Drape, fen.
 and John Drape, jun. of Holm-Cultrum, were profe-
 cuted for tithes, at the fuit of Jofeph Johnson and
 John Barnes, tithe-farmers. They were committed
 prifoners,

prisoners to Carlisle jail, Caddy and Skelton died prisoners, and the others continued four years. C H A P.
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[*Leicestershire*, 1705.] John Richards of Norton, was prosecuted in the Exchequer, for small tithes, at the suit of Theophilus Burditt and William Fenwick, priests of Hallaton: who had first obtained a warrant from Sir George Beaumont, a justice of the peace: But afterwards declined proceeding in that way, and determined to take a severer course, which they did effectually; for he was committed to jail, and continued prisoner five years, until he died.

[*Somersetshire*, 1696.] William Lyddon of the parish of Withil, was prosecuted in the Exchequer for tithes, at the suit of William Pratt in the behalf of some children of an impropiator. Lyddon was committed to Taunton jail, in the month called April, 1697, and was continued prisoner many years, till he died.

[*Yorkshire*, 1699.] Richard Parrott and Samuel Spanton of Nafferton, were prosecuted in the Ecclesiastical court, for tithes and Easter-offerings, at the suit of Robert Jaggon of Nafferton, impropiator or tithe-farmer. Parrot and Spanton, were both committed to York castle on a writ *de Excommunicato capiendo*, on the 13th of the month called March, 1699: The prosecutor's demand on Spanton, was about 30s. for half a year's tithes. After some months close confinement he was taken sick, and not like to live; his mother intreated the prosecutor to permit him to end his days at home; but was answered, *That if he would not pay, his body must suffer*: So he died there in prison, on the 26th of October 1700, and the prosecutor died very suddenly about two weeks after. Parrott, for a trivial sum for oblations, was continued a prisoner above seven years, being released on the 5th of the month called April, 1707.

[*Yorkshire*, 1700.] Richard Kendall of Hill-house-bank, in the parish of Leeds, was prosecuted in the Ecclesiastical court for tithes, at the suit of William Hewan, tithe-farmer. He was committed to Rothwell jail, by a writ *de Excommunicato capiendo*, in the month called

CHAP. V. called June, 1700, and died in the same prison, on the 24th of the month called January, 1702, after about two years and seven months imprisonment, for 2*l.* 15*s.* adjudged by the court.

These specimens, extracted from a great number of others of like kind, are sufficient proof, that the people called Quakers did not apply to parliament for redress, without real and urgent reason; and every unprejudiced reader will be ready to reflect with the Country Parson's respondent, that, "*The number of suits herein specified, the prisoners, the distresses, and the vast disparity between the demand and sum exacted in suits for tithe, must raise abhorrence in any compassionate mind. The single article of one hundred pounds, taken for eighteen pence, would be a just reason for abolishing tithes, if suits for them could not be carried on in more humane methods.*"

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The clergy by their exertions prevented the bill for the relief of this society, from ruinous prosecutions, being passed into an act; but could not prevent free remarks being made upon the many hard cases, contained in the specification published at the instance of their advocate, expressive of censure and dislike of such proceedings. To prevent or alleviate the disrepute to their character, naturally resulting therefrom, the clergy of several dioceses published examinations of these cases, as far as those of their respective dioceses were concerned. The drift of these examinations seemed to be to palliate, and put a deceptive gloss upon facts, which they could not disprove; and at the same time, by unfair reflections and uncandid insinuations

The clergy publish examinations of the cases,

to

to bring the Quakers under suspicion of artifice, of which they were innocent. This put them under the necessity of publishing vindications of their *brief account* of facts, and of themselves from the invidious suggestions of their enemies. In reply to what had been insinuated in one of these examinations, they alledge that they have proved,

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Answered
by friends
in vindica-
tion there-
of.

1. That 1180 persons have been prosecuted.
2. That 302 of them were committed to prison.

Recapitu-
lation of
the case.

3. That 9 of them died prisoners.
4. That the sums sued for were frequently from 4*d.* to 5*s.* that in one case a poor widow and her son, were imprisoned eleven months on a verdict for one penny for tithe-wool. And that in another case two persons were excommunicated, and sent to jail; for a demand of but one farthing * each, for a church-rate.

5. That

* John Walton of Shildon, Thomas Lackenby of Bishop Auckland, Ralph Dixon of Woodhouse, Love-God Murwaite of Bishop Auckland, widow, and John Dalton of the same, were prosecuted in the Ecclesiastical court, at the suit of Thomas Sayer and William Slater, wardens, for a church-rate so called.

The demands were on Walton, two shillings and six pence, Lackenby, two pence halfpenny, Dixon one farthing; on the widow Murwaite, four pence, and on Dalton, one farthing; they were all committed to Durham jail, on a writ *de Excommunicato capiendo*; but several of their neighbours, troubled at their imprisonment for such trifles, paid the demands of the court, and got them discharged.

Such trivial causes of excommunication, are a degrading of that office, which ought to be chiefly reserved for a testimony against gross enormities or immoralities. In these latter cases to allow a pecuniary compensation to buy off the censure, is priest-craft imported from Rome, to issue them on frivolous occasions destroys their force, as matters of discipline;

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5. That a great part of those prosecutions were for sums not exceeding 40s.

6. That heavy costs and rigorous executions have attended those prosecutions, of which there are a great many instances; in some of which the proportion of the sums levied to the original demand, is greater than that of 800/. for demands of fifteen.

The specifications in the account published by friends, therefore, are so far from being defective, that they demonstrate, the grievances complained of to be really greater than 'twas represented.

After the perusal of this summary review, can any thing be more clearly manifest, than that the Quakers did not apply for redress of imaginary or pretended, but of real and very severe grievances; and the reason why their petition was at last rejected, may, perhaps be gathered from the following passage in a defence of *reasons for not paying tithes*, viz.

‘ I think it is more than probable, that the discernment and moderation of the latter ages having rejected the principles which were the original foundation of tithes, would naturally have rejected the tithes also; or if they did not think proper to repeal, would have modified these tithe-laws with more equal regulations ere now, were it not that the clergy, still forming a body distinct

pline; to enforce them in such cases by the civil sanctions of Romish canons, is an oppressive grievance; and to excommunicate those who were never of their communion, is exceedingly ridiculous and absurd. In any civil concern how would that man expose himself to censure and reproach, who would go to law for one groat or one farthing; suits for such sums seem peculiar to ecclesiastical demands.

‘ distinct from the body of the people, with
 ‘ separate views and interests, have constantly
 ‘ watched over the interest of the church, im-
 ‘ properly so called, that is their own interests,
 ‘ with a jealousy ready to take the alarm at
 ‘ every attempt, however reasonable, which
 ‘ they apprehended had ever so remote a ten-
 ‘ dency to affect their revenues, or even their
 ‘ power of inflicting penalties on those who
 ‘ questioned their claims, and to exert the
 ‘ weight of their united influence, which from
 ‘ their character and connections is a very pow-
 ‘ erful one, to frustrate any such attempt.’

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By the different examinations on the part of the clergy, and the vindications of their brief account, the people called Quakers had a controversy on their hands till the year 1740, by which time they received the following account of a similar prosecution, whereby three friends were committed to York castle.

“ The suffering cases of Richard Ward, Ben-
 “ jamin Burn, and William Boocock, on the
 “ account of refusing to pay tithes.

Cafe of R.
 Ward, B.
 Burn, and
 W. Boo-
 cock.

“ We the said Richard Ward and Benjamin
 “ Burn of Hiliam, in the parish of Monk-Fryf-
 “ ton in the county of York, and William
 “ Boocock of Mithley, in the same county, who
 “ had dwelt at Hiliam; were all subpœna’d to
 “ appear at the Exchequer bar in Trinity term,
 “ 1735, at the suit of Robert Robinson of
 “ Monk-Fryf-ton, tithe-farmer, under Dr. Tho-
 “ mas Sharp, prebendary of * Wistow, to answer
 “ a

* A prebend belonging to the cathedral of York.

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“ a bill which he filed against us, in which he
 “ complained against us for keeping and de-
 “ taining from him the tithes of our corn, hay,
 “ and other small tithes, though he or his
 “ servants, had taken our corn from us in
 “ kind every year; if he happened to miss
 “ taking it, he took more for it the next year;
 “ and he might have taken from us the value of
 “ our small tithes, at any time by justices war-
 “ rant, without putting himself or us to such
 “ great trouble and expense. In Michaelmas
 “ term following we put in our answers, and
 “ gave an account of the value of our tithes,
 “ according to the best of our knowledge.
 “ after several terms he amended his bill; after
 “ which he replied, and refused to accept of
 “ our answers: Some time after he amended his
 “ replication, and left out the tithes of our
 “ corn; then called for a commission of enquiry
 “ to examine witnesses, &c. which was held
 “ at Pontefract, in the 11th month called Ja-
 “ nuary, 1737, the charge of which costs us
 “ on our part above 16*l.* though he proved
 “ scarce any thing more in value, than what we
 “ had confessed in our answers. In Michael-
 “ mas term following, 1738, he obtained a de-
 “ cree against us; Ward, for nine years small
 “ tithes, 4*l.* 19*s.* 9*d.* Burn, for nine years small
 “ tithes, 2*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* Boocock, for five years
 “ small tithes, 1*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.* and also a decree for
 “ costs, 57*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* and for our conscientiously
 “ refusing to pay the abovesaid sums, we were
 “ taken up by attachments issuing out of the
 “ Exchequer court in Easter term, 1740, and
 “ committed prisoners to York castle, the 30th
 “ of 3d month called May following, and have
 “ remained

“ remained prisoners here ever since, to the
 “ great loss and detriment of our families.”

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York castle the 7th of
 the 3d month, 1741.

Richard Ward.
 Benjamin Burn.
 William Boocock.

“ N. B. A little time before we were brought
 “ hither prisoners in the 3d month, 1740, the
 “ said Robert Robinson, by virtue of a warrant
 “ from Robert Mitford and Robert Pockley,
 “ justices, distrained one cow of Richard
 “ Ward’s, appraised at 3*l.* 10*s.* for five years
 “ small tithes, since the aforesaid suit com-
 “ menced; and from Benjamin Burn he di-
 “ strained a cow and a calf valued at 2*l.* 15*s.*
 “ for tithes, since the said suit commenced.”

Had this tithe-farmer, who appears to have known the method of recovering by justices warrant, taken that method for the recovery of the tithes which he sued in the Exchequer for, would it not have been much better for himself, as well as his neighbours? for he might then have got the tithes he now lost, and have saved himself the expense of 57*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* and perhaps much more which the Exchequer prosecution might cost him: had the restriction the Quakers desired taken place, this tithe-farmer would have received a very considerable advantage thereby, in being withheld from hurting himself to imprison his neighbours.

Each had a separate warrant for the costs, which was 57*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* they were discharged the 13th of 6th month, 1743, by virtue of a clause in the act for insolvents, passed in the last session of parliament, without paying the usual

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fees to the jailer: by the following justices of the peace, who met at the castle of York, pursuant to an adjournment of quarter sessions from Bradford, the 21st of the 5th month last, and before whom the prisoners appeared, viz.

Francis Barlow,
Richard Dawson,
Mark Braithwate, L. D. an advocate,
Richard Gilpin Sowry.

It was pleaded by council on behalf of the prosecutor, that the whole costs of suit, viz. 57*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* was chargeable on any one or two of the prisoners, if the third was insufficient; it being given in by the prosecutor's evidence, that William Boocock had no effects, real or personal.

The justices laid before the prosecutor his cruelty, and took off his demand upon William Boocock, and one third part of the costs, and discharged William Boocock.

Nor would the justices lay Wm. Boocock's part upon the other two friends; and taking off twenty pounds, which Dr. Sharpe allowed the prosecutor upon renewing the lease, granted a warrant for distress, as follows,

| | £. | s. | d. |
|-------------------------------|----|----|-----------------|
| On Richard Ward, for tithes, | 4 | 19 | 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| For one third costs, — | 12 | 7 | 9 |
| In all | 17 | 7 | 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| On Benjamin Burn, for tithes, | 2 | 17 | 6 |
| For one third costs, — | 12 | 7 | 9 |
| In all | 15 | 5 | 3 |

On

On the prosecutor's return from the levy, they were all three released; William Boocock freely.

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During these transactions, some members of this society, of eminent usefulness among their brethren, had been removed by death, accounts of whom I have deferred in course, with a view not to interrupt the narrative of the proceedings in reference to their petition, for the redress of their grievances in these prosecutions for tithes.

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*Account of Alexander Arscott.—Samuel Overton.
—John Gurney.—Benjamin Bangs.—James
Dickenson.—Thomas Story.—John Fothergill.*

IN the year 1737, Alexander Arscott of Bristol, an useful and respectable member of civil and religious society, was removed from works to rewards. His father was a clergyman of the church of England, incumbent of Southmoulton in Devonshire, and designing this son for the same function, he gave him an education suitable thereto; after the preparatory tuition at school, he was removed to the university at Oxford to complete his studies. But now when he had acquired the attainments esteemed suitable qualifications for undertaking the sacerdo-

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Account of
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Arscott.

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tal office, and might have had a reasonable prospect of preferment, (his father being well respected and beloved among the great men in that country,) religious considerations preponderating in his mind, turned his views from worldly prospects to those of an everlasting duration, and by the conviction of his judgment, being induced to adopt the profession of the people called Quakers, he declined the thoughts of pursuing the line of life intended for him. This gave his parents great anxiety, both as appearing to them a mistaken choice, and disappointing their hopes of his preferment, insomuch that they frequently gave vent to their sorrow with tears, whereby the feelings of filial affection were awakened in him to join in their sorrows; and to call in question the rectitude of his choice, as he had been and desired to be a dutiful son to tender and affectionate parents; his understanding became clouded for a season, by doubts respecting the propriety of his conduct.

Being hereby brought low in his mind, and still desirous above all things to please his maker by doing his will to the best of his understanding; to keep a conscience void of offence to God and to man, (especially to his parents) as far as might be consistent with what might appear to him required as duty to the Almighty. During this season of spiritual conflict, he was much exercised in inward supplication to be rightly directed, and therein received a fresh sight, that, if he would be Christ's disciple he must forsake father and mother for him, and be faithful to the manifestation of his will in all things.

He

He then found there was no other way to at- C H A P.
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tain that solid peace of mind, of which he was
in pursuit, but by yielding unreserved obedience
to the discovery of duty; this appears the mov-
ing cause of his joining in society with the
people called Quakers, as being experimentally
convinced of the reality of the inward appear-
ance of the grace of God, and the necessity
thereof to enable men to overcome their evil
propensities, and lead them into a life of virtue
and holiness. From that time till his decease,
being about thirty-five years, and when he was
settled here in good business, and in estimation
with his fellow citizens, he had the satisfaction
to find his parents better reconciled to his
change; and that his interest with his friends
and others, put him in a capacity of being service-
able to the rest of his father's family, by pro-
curing them good places for getting a liveli-
hood.

Upon his entering into this society, his
worldly prospects vanished of course. But his
good qualities engaging the esteem and cordial
regard of his new friends, it was not long till
he found encouragement amongst them in that
line of life, which by his education he was well
qualified to undertake. He removed to the
city of Bristol, about the year 1702, and kept
school there for the education of his friends
children and others with reputation. He re-
ceived a gift in the ministry, his labours where-
in were very acceptable and edifying to his
friends, amongst whom he chiefly exercised it,
of which they gave this testimony, that, "his
" ministry gave evidence of its purity, being
" accompanied with divine wisdom, power and
" life."

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"life". Although he did not travel much from home, yet he occasionally visited sundry meetings in the counties adjacent, to the edification of his friends. He also generally attended the yearly meeting in London.

The abilities and purity of his mind manifested in a circumspect life and conversation, increased the esteem in which he was held not only by his intimate friends, but also with the good and judicious part of his neighbours, and his acquaintance in a general way.

His love to God was manifested by an unaffected and fervent piety; his love to his neighbours by his readiness to do good to all men, as far as in his power. In the society of which he was a member, his service was very beneficial and extensive, not only publicly in the exercise of a lively and affecting ministry, and skilful exertions for introducing and preserving good order in general; but in a more private way, in preventing differences, and promoting love and unity amongst them, under the impression of love and tender sympathetic concern, visiting the widow and fatherless; the afflicted in body and mind, the sick, the disconsolate and the poor; to each of whom he would freely extend a hand of help, administering assistance, consolation, and generous contributions himself, and using his influence with others to contribute to the want of such as stood in need of food and raiment. "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy."

The instances of his benevolence and the respectability of his character, were not confined within the pale of the society; conspicuous amongst his fellow citizens for judgment, understanding

standing and integrity, he was very much employed in deciding differences between them, either as arbitrator or umpire: so that to the blessing of the peace maker, he might seem to have a title above most.

He wrote fundry tracts, which were well received, particularly those entitled, *Some Considerations relative to the present State of the Christian Religion.*

His last indisposition was a diabetes, which gradually weakened him, till at last in a peaceful frame of mind, he departed this life, the 30th of 1st month, 1737, in the 61st year of his age.

Samuel Overton of Grovefield, in the county of Warwick, was born in the parish of Tachbrook in that county, in the year 1668, of Parents in religious society with the people called Quakers, by whom he was educated in the same profession.

Account of
Samuel
Overton.

The circumstances of his father (a husbandman engaged in hard labour on his farm for his subsistence) seem not to have been such as afforded him the advantage of obtaining much learning. Being in his youth inured to bodily labour, he was very helpful to his father in the management of his business. He was favoured with good sense and a comprehensive natural capacity, so far compensating for the defect of his education, that he wanted neither understanding nor skill in the prudent and successful management of his temporal affairs, or his spiritual calling.

For, through the divine blessing prospering his honest and judicious exertions in his occupation as a farmer, he procured not only a comfortable

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 1737. parents laboured under very great difficulties,
 but in process of time attained to plentiful circumstances.

And in the laborious season of his youth, being humbled in mind, he was favoured with a merciful visitation from on high, whereby he received a religious turn, inducing him to pursue after the attainment of the durable riches of righteousness, after which his search was not in vain. For as he was faithful to manifested duty, he received a dispensation of the gospel to preach, and laboured diligently therein to the edification of his friends and others. He travelled frequently abroad in religious visits to his friends in different parts of England and Wales, particularly in the western counties of the former, and for many years attended the yearly meeting of London; in all which his labours in the ministry were very acceptable and serviceable. Being a man of universal benevolence, and well qualified to propagate righteousness, and the doctrines of pure christianity, he was concerned to appoint meetings for the information and benefit of people of other persuasions. The same principle excited him to be frequent in attending marriages, and burials amongst friends in the county wherein he resided, and those adjacent, as affording opportunities of spreading the doctrine of truth among the people in a general way.

He was no less distinguished for his service in meetings of discipline, being one of the first who was remarkably zealous to establish and keep them up in those parts. He was a man of sound judgment, and steady deportment therein, often
 advising

advising friends to a dispassionate temper of mind, and to speak from a sense of truth, which he was careful to exemplify in his own conduct, being a pattern of meekness and brotherly condescension.

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His private character, as described by his friends, who were well acquainted with him, appears to be truly respectable, viz. that he was an affectionate husband, a tender father, a kind and liberal master, a true and faithful friend, a generous and good neighbour; charitable to the poor, and sympathizing with the afflicted; open-hearted and hospitable to his friends; a lover and promoter of peace, he was often chosen an arbitrator to compose differences amongst his friends and others; in which capacity his coolness, sagacity and impartiality, enabled him to bring them generally to an agreeable issue.

He not only in doctrine zealously and repeatedly recommended a holy and circumspect life and deportment, but was a lively pattern and example thereof, in his own conversation and conduct.

He had a lingering illness for several months, which he bore with christian patience; and as often as the intermission of his distemper would admit, he was very diligent in attending meetings, wherein he very devoutly exercised his gift, and was supported and carried through in the discharge thereof, beyond what could in the eye of reason be expected, being freely given up to spend and be spent for the service of truth; and even at the last meeting he had amongst friends at Warwick, in the week he died, notwithstanding the infirmities of his body, he was deeply

C H A P. VI. deeply and excellently concerned in testimony; and, as if sensible of his approaching death, and the loss which the church was likely to sustain by his removal, he fervently besought the Lord in prayer, that out of his abundant goodness, he would *be pleased to raise up and send more labourers into his harvest*; which was very affecting and heart-tendering to several then present.

He departed this life the 23d of the seventh month, 1737, and was interred in friends burial ground in Warwick, the 27th of the same, being attended by a great number of friends and neighbours, and generally lamented by all sorts of people, aged 69, a minister about forty-eight years.

1740. Account of John Gurney. John Gurney, of Norwich, was descended of worthy and respectable parents, who received the truth in the love of it, soon after the appearance of friends in that city. His Father had no small share in suffering for his religious testimony in the most severe persecutions to which friends were exposed in those early times, and remained unshaken in his faithfulness to the end of his days. His parents took particular care in giving their children a religious education, and had the consolation to behold the beneficial effects thereof, in most of them.

This their son John Gurney, in particular, being early illuminated with wisdom to discern the folly and vanity of youthful delights and pursuits, turned his attention to religious and virtuous considerations in his young years; and by submitting to the guidance of the holy Spirit, he grew in experience, in sanctification, and in an understanding of the mysteries of the gospel; and about the 22d year of his age, his mouth

was

was opened in ministry in the religious assemblies of his friends, much to their edification and comfort; and as he advanced in years and experience, his excellent gift was enlarged, he being an eloquent man, and mighty in the scriptures. His ministry was often attended with the demonstration of the spirit and of power; his expression plain and intelligible to the meanest capacity, and his doctrines suitably adapted to the states of the auditory reached the witnesses of God in many of their hearts: he approved himself a workman that needed not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth. Though his eminent qualifications made many delight to sit under his ministry, and seek opportunities for that purpose, yet he affected not popularity; but frequently gave way to others, perhaps less desired, chusing rather to remain unnoticed, than to appear to gratify or please the itching ear; being careful deeply to attend to the motion of truth in his own mind, before he entered upon his labours in the ministry.

He had a high esteem for the good order established in the religious society of which he was a member, often expressing his sentiment, “ That he believed their constitution respecting discipline, was preferable to any other now subsisting in the world,” and was diligent not only in attending meetings of worship, but those for discipline also, wherein he discovered himself to be a member well qualified for service, and skilful in managing matters of discipline; being a man of clear conception, understanding, penetration and expression; his sentiments generally carried conviction with them, whereby great regard was paid to his judgment, not only

CHAP. VI. only in the monthly and quarterly meetings to which he belonged; but the general assembly of his brethren in the yearly meeting at London. He was no less conspicuous for his capacity and judgment in civil affairs, wherein he was capable and ready to serve both those of his own society, and other members of the commonwealth, many of whom received benefits from his services, which procured him the general love and esteem of people of all ranks, even the great men of this world; yet he was preserved from exaltation in prosperity, and cautiously avoided opportunities of applause, which frequently offered.

His life and conversation adorned the doctrine of the gospel, which he was concerned to publish to the world; being a pattern of sobriety, chastity, moderation, temperance and other christian virtues. In his family, an affectionate husband, an indulgent and tender father, and a kind master. In religious society, a faithful overseer, a wise counsellor and a steady friend. Among his neighbours and countrymen of all denominations, an useful assistant on many occasions, by free and candid advice, which as application was made to him, he generously communicated.

In the latter part of his time, he was afflicted with great pain, being for some years grievously affected with the stone and gravel, which very much weakened his constitution; yet his soul seemed supported with christian fortitude, in patience and resignation to the divine will. And although his long indisposition prevented his travelling much abroad, to visit the churches in the different parts of his native country,

country, as he had formerly done, to the edification of his friends, yet he frequently attended the religious assemblies of his brethren at home, amongst whom in his state of bodily weakness, he was often engaged in a living and efficacious ministry, whereby many were powerfully reached, and affected with lasting impressions of religious thoughtfulness in their minds.

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These painful distempers grew upon him, 'till they terminated his existence in this life, the 19th of 11th month, 1740; and as he had engaged the general esteem of his friends and fellow-citizens, they manifested their respect to his memory by a very numerous attendance of his body to the grave: a solemn meeting was held to edification, wherein the solidity of the large assembly testified the universal regret for his removal.

Benjamin Bangs, of Stockport, in Cheshire, was a minister of eminence in his day, of whom, however, for want of information and materials, I cannot be so particular in my relation, as his services at home and abroad for more than sixty years, might seem to demand; and therefore must restrict myself to the following testimony to his qualifications and services, by his friends of the quarterly meeting to which he belonged.

1741.
Account of
Benjamin
Bangs.

He was born in the parish of Longham, in the county of Norfolk, the 1st of 10th month, 1652, and was religiously educated in the principles of the church of England. The Lord was pleased in his young and tender years to extend a merciful visitation of love to him, with which he was at times deeply affected; and about the 19th year of his age, being then settled in London,

CHAP. VI. ^{1741.} don, was convinced of the blessed truth; and shortly after he came forth in a public testimony, and became an able minister of the gospel of Christ: in which he laboured faithfully and fervently, in divers parts of this nation and the kingdom of Ireland*, and was instrumental in the convincement of many.

In the year 1683, he married Mary Lowe, of the county of Cheshire, and settled in that county. After which he visited many parts of the nation and the Principality of Wales; and till age and infirmities prevailed, continued to visit his friends in the adjacent counties, where his services were always acceptable.

He was an elder worthy of double honour, having obtained a good report; not of men seeking glory, nor as a lord over God's heritage, but an example to the flock. In doctrine, sound, clear and instructive; his openings were fresh and lively, and his manner of expression truly amiable. He delighted much to wait in silence for the discoveries of the word of life, whereby he became strong in the Lord and in the power of his might, sounding forth the word of reconciliation by Christ our Lord, and salvation thro' his eternal spirit.

He was often fervent in supplication, and drawn forth in a sweet and heavenly manner, to the great joy and gladness of the sincere in heart. He was signally qualified in meetings of discipline, to speak a word in season for the promotion of peace and good order in the church.

He was remarkably compassionate to the poor, in whom he observed a degree of sincerity and

and worthiness, such were sure to meet with an advocate in him. C H A P.
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His countenance was awful, his deportment grave, but intermixed with a pleasant and familiar manner of expression, that rendered his company truly pleasing to those he conversed with, and when old age and infirmities attended, his understanding was clear, and many sweet and heavenly expressions dropt from him. He often said, "That his work was finished, and he was freely resigned; feeling nothing on his spirit but peace from the Lord." When near his end, he could not forbear rejoicing in the blessed experience of that peace, saying, "Now I know and witness the saying of our blessed Lord fulfilled, *He that believeth on me, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.*" He died the 6th of 12 month, 1741, in the 90th year of his age; a minister about 65 years.

In this year also, James Dickenson, of Greentrees, in Cumberland, a very serviceable, valuable and faithful minister of the society of the people called Quakers, (sundry of whose travels and services have been noticed in this work) departed this life. He was born at Lowmoor, in the county of Cumberland, in the year 1659, of honest parents, professing the truth, as held by this people. The Lord was pleased tenderly to visit him, when very young; but for want of keeping a steady eye to his guidance, he was led forth into those vanities and follies of the world incident to youth; but such was the love of the heavenly Father that he was met with again and again, and brought back, as a sheep strayed from the Father's fold; and after much affliction and solitary exercise, fitted for future service, and engaged

Account of
James
Dickenson.

C H A P. VI. engaged in a public testimony to that truth, the efficacy whereof he had experienced, about the eighteenth year of his age.

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He was shortly after concerned to go to several meetings of the Dissenters, in the county where he lived, amongst whom he met with much ill treatment; yet truth crowned his labours with the convincement of several.

After which he travelled through divers counties in England, in the work of the ministry, in which he zealously laboured for the promotion of piety and virtue, so that it often proved effectual to reach the witness of God in the conscience of those to whom he ministered; for it may be truly said of him, that he went not about to publish the gospel of life and salvation with the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in the power and demonstration of the spirit of truth. Many sufferings did he undergo in his early travels, in the times of persecution, which he bore with christian fortitude and resignation; looking not unto man for his reward, but to that great and good master who had sent him to work in his vineyard.

He visited Ireland twelve times; once he paid a visit to his friends in Holland and Germany; and three times went over to America, in all which places he diligently laboured for the promotion of truth and righteousness, and in many places was instrumental to the convincement of several. And although he travelled much and often hard, yet as soon as his service was over, and his spirit eased of the concern which was upon him, he was diligent to return to his outward habitation and business, that he might not only be a good example to others herein,
but

but might also mind his service among friends at home. C H A P.
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He was a man much esteemed in his own country; friends there highly valued him for his faithfulness in the performance of the Lord's work; and his humble deportment, circumspect life and godly conversation, gained him a good report among his neighbours and those with whom he conversed.

1741.

He frequently attended the yearly meeting in London, where he sometimes spoke concerning the affairs of the society, much to the satisfaction of friends; yet he was not so peculiarly gifted for the management of the discipline of the church, as some others in his time, who were not so eminent in the ministry; whereby the great wisdom of the Almighty is plainly seen; for he fits and qualifies his faithful servants by his own power and holy spirit for that work and service in the church to which he sees meet to appoint them.

He was a diligent labourer at home, a constant attender of meetings, a sincere traveller therein, very tender over the youth, a nursing father to the weak, and full of charity to all; yet not hasty to join with forward spirits. He was very careful to keep clear of party causes, and anxiously concerned to promote peace in the church; and often expressed his steadfast faith that the testimony of truth would be exalted in the nations, and the antichristian oppression of tithes brought down; and with concern declared his sorrow for such as weakly complied therewith.

When his natural abilities failed, he would speak with strength apparently beyond his age

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But William Penn being now returned to Pennsylvania, with a view of settling there, and finding the affairs of his province, which he had left in a peaceful and prosperous state, during his long absence, fallen into embarrassment and disorder; and having a particular regard for Thomas Story, as an intimate friend, and a favourable opinion of his abilities, he importuned him to take up his residence in Philadelphia for a season, to afford his assistance in settling the affairs of the province and reducing them into order.

Upon due deliberation Thomas consented to stay so long as he might see it his place. Whereupon he was appointed one of the governor's council, keeper of the seal, master of the rolls, and one of his commissioners of property, for enquiring into and confirming old rights, and granting lands upon new purchases. Moreover when a new charter was afterward granted to Philadelphia, erecting it into a city and corporation, he was appointed to the office of recorder; but he held this office only till the corporation was regularly settled and habituated to business, when he resigned.

But in these different secular functions, in which he was engaged, both his honourable friend and himself had a due regard to calls of an higher nature. For by his patent he was allowed deputies in each office, whenever his apprehension of duty might engage him to travel abroad in the work of the ministry; he thereby was enabled to fill up his respective duties with fidelity, and to divide his time here between his secular and spiritual calling for the space of 14 years

years, viz. from the year 1699 to 1714, when C H A P. VI. he returned to England.

During his residence in America, he paid frequent religious visits to his friends in different parts of the continent, and in 1709, to the West Indian Islands, when in his passage from Jamaica to Philadelphia, the vessel he was in was taken by a French privateer and carried into Martinico, where he and the ship's company (except in losing their goods and clothes) were kindly and hospitably treated. After some stay there, they got a passage to Guadaloupe, and from thence in a flag of truce to Antigua. In 1714, he passed again to Barbadoes, and from thence returned to England, where he continued his gospel labours, in a successive course of travelling in the various quarters of the British islands, and being a man of eminent qualifications, and those sanctified, his ministry was very convincing and edifying, so that he was acknowledged, not only by the society of which he was a member, but by other people, as a truly evangelical minister.

His last journey was in 1740, from his own residence at Justice-town to London, where he continued several months, and during his stay there he was seized with a paralytick disorder, which affected him to such a degree, as deprived him very much of his speech, and confined him within doors till the return of the spring; when he regained a little strength, and got out to meetings; but was still not so far recovered as to be able to hold a discourse long, his memory being also much impaired by the said disorder. Nevertheless he continued sweet in spirit, and pleasant and cheerful among his friends, whom

1742.

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whom he was always glad to see, and be in company with. He likewise diligently attended the yearly meeting at London, 1741, though he spoke not much in it. Before the end of summer he grew so much better, that he travelled down to Carlisle, to look after his affairs in the north, which required his attendance; for having a design to build an house at Justice-town, he provided materials, and frequently overlooked the workmen; and indeed his health and faculties were so well restored, as that he many times appeared in public in the meetings, greatly to the satisfaction of friends. Thus he continued without much alteration, till the 23d of 4th month, 1742, being the first day of the week; when in the evening, he suffered a new attack of his distemper, which seized him with great violence; and the next morning between two and three o'clock, he departed this life, in perfect peace (we have reason to believe) with God and mankind. His funeral at Carlisle was attended by a great number of friends from several parts of the country, and also by divers people in the neighbourhood, who seemed deeply affected with the loss of a man, so valuable and useful to his country in several stations of life.

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Account of
John Fothergill.

John Fothergill, of Carrend in Wensleydale, but formerly of Knareborough in Yorkshire, was the son of religious parents, who carefully educated him in sobriety, simplicity and virtue, according to the principles of the people called Quakers. But in the early part of life, being illuminated by the grace and truth that comes by Jesus Christ, he perceived that neither tradition, outward regularity of life, nor any thing

thing short of real internal purification of soul would render him acceptable in the sight of the Lord, or secure his everlasting well-being; he was incited therefore, with an entire dedication of heart steadily to pursue this arduous attainment, and through the repeated baptisms of the Holy Ghost, and the washing of regeneration, he gradually experienced, what he was in pursuit of, a being made clean thereby; and under this preparing operation of divine grace, a sense attending his mind that he would be called to the work of the ministry, he was very careful to wait the appointed time. For although he was favoured with the opening of the scriptures to his understanding, in sundry parts, and at sundry times, in the religious meetings of his friends, he cautiously abstained from the publication thereof, till the time came, when it was indeed required of him to make a public declaration of what was spoken in his spiritual ear, and when the word appeared with such clearness, as to leave no shadow of doubt, that it was a divine requiring, like the apostle, he reasoned not with flesh and blood, but gave up to the heavenly vision.

He was called to the ministry about the 20th year of his age, and by a daily deep and inward dwelling with the word of divine life in his own heart, he soon became a strong man in Christ, and a skilful and able minister of the gospel; well instructed in the mystery of godliness, and in the light to discover the mysterious workings of antichrist in opposition thereto, he was well qualified, out of the treasures of his own experience to administer consolation, counsel or caution, suitably adapted to the different states of his auditory.

Being

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Being strongly impressed with an awful humbling sense of the majesty and omnipresence of the divine being, in the exercise of his ministry he was very awful and weighty, not endeavouring to please the itching ears, or gratify the high notions of airy speculation by the wisdom of words, but actuated by higher and purer motives, as considering himself under the notice of that eye, which penetrates unto the innermost recesses of the heart, and observes the most secret motions thereof, he durst not handle the word deceitfully; but patiently waited, renewedly to receive power from on high, and under the influence and divine authority thereof, to divide the word aright, reaching the divine witness in the hearts of those he ministered unto, to the convincement, confirmation and edification of many at home and abroad.

For the support of the discipline established in the society, his talents were equally conspicuous, being replenished with the wisdom, which is from above, which is without partiality, he was steadfast, upright and discreet in the administration thereof; quick of apprehension, and of a capacious reach of thought, he expressed his sense and judgment on cases under deliberation with pertinence, convincing clearness and impartiality. No family connection (not even his own) biased him in applying righteousness to the line, and judgment to the plumb-line, for removing offences out of the church, or recovering backsliders in the way of truth. The stability of his own conduct, and his inflexible integrity gave him authority, and that authority he invariably applied to the discouragement

couragement of evil doing, and the praise and encouragement of those that did well.

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He was brought up in the occupation of an husbandman, and I suppose his education as to school learning was confined to what appeared necessary in that department; but his deficiency in literature was amply compensated by the soundness of his understanding improved and refined by pure religion, which replenisheth the man with a dignity and consistency of conduct, a wisdom to act well in every station of life, surpassing the wisdom of this world. At home he was skilfully, laboriously and successfully employed in his occupation of agriculture for the necessary support of himself and his family, yet not entangled therewith; for when the sense of duty called him to leave his outward habitation and secular affairs, to devote his time and talents to the exercise of his ministerial labours, for the edification of the churches abroad, he with all readiness yielded obedience to the superior calling; and in this case manifested that wisdom, for which he was distinguished in every circumstance of this life, always to leave his outward affairs in reputable order, and his children (after he was a widower) in safe hands, during his absence; and he was very diligent in travelling with as much expedition as a clear sense of duty would allow, that he might not make the gospel chargeable; and when his service was finished, to return to his family and outward occupation with as little delay as possible.

He took frequent journies into sundry parts of England, Scotland and Wales, in religious visits to his friends. He visited Ireland several times, and thrice he crossed the sea to America

in

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in the same service, to the comfort and edification of the churches, leaving seals to the efficacy of his ministry in many places, being instrumental to the convincing, strengthening and establishing of many in religious experience, and furtherance in the way of righteousness and peace. He also wrote sundry edifying epistles to his friends, amongst whom he had laboured in various parts as truth opened his way, and excited his sympathetic concern for their prosperity and preservation in sincerity and godly simplicity, replete with important and pertinent counsel and admonition, for the like beneficial purposes.

As advancing age brought on painful indisposition and infirmities symptomatic of his body's tending to its decline; the natural and spiritual abilities of his better part, his zeal for God, and love to the brethren were still graciously preserved to him unimpaired. Under great bodily afflictions he continued his religious visits to several places in England, as well as his last visit to Ireland, which he performed in the year 1742, about two years before his death; a part of his service which I had the benefit to partake of (as well as formerly in my native country) and can join my suffrage to the justice of the preceding account of him, extracted from the testimonies of his friends, to whom he was more intimately known, as I have had frequently during my pilgrimage through life, as well as at this time, profitably brought to my remembrance, how; not only in the efficacious reach of his public ministry, but particularly in his private conversation among his friends, at some opportunities at which I had the advantage of
being

being present, the weightiness of his spirit, the unaffected gravity of his demeanour, the wisdom of his reflections, his words few and savory, seasoned with grace, made good and deep impressions with lasting effect upon my youthful mind.

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Under the encreasing infirmities of age in the year 1744, the last year of his life, he attended the yearly meeting at London, and, although under difficulty through weakness of body, yet his spirit was still so actuated by lively zeal for the propagating of righteousness and good order in the society at large, and strengthened by divine support, that he was enabled to attend the sittings of that large meeting, where his reverent and watchful frame of mind rendered his company truly acceptable and serviceable. On his return he attended the midsummer quarterly meeting at York, and soon after in a letter to a friend mentioning his bodily weakness, he adds, " Yet, I think, my better part is uncommonly supplied in divers respects, much to my comfort and the reviving of my faith in the heavenly influence, which is strength in weakness, and will be so, where his only worthy name hath the praise."

After this in the latter part of the said year, he attended the circular yearly meeting at Worcester, where through divine influence, still eminently attending him, and reviving the recollection of past experiences, he was strengthened to bear a noble and affecting testimony to the all-sufficiency of that power, which had preserved, supported and guided him in the way that was right and well pleasing, all his life long to that day, and is equally able to do the same for all

CHAP. VI. all the children of men, who are faithful and obedient to the inward manifestations thereof. After the termination of this meeting he visited Bristol, Bath and some other places, and then returned home by easy journies, having meetings as opportunities offered. After his return he got to meetings for some weeks, when his testimony was as lively and powerful as ever; several times expressing his satisfaction and inward peace in having performed this last journey, saying, "His shoulders were considerably lightened by it, and he was reconciled to his grave, if he should now be taken away."

By an exemplary and circumspect conduct in a private and public capacity, he confirmed and adorned his ministry, being a lively example of primitive purity, moderation and simplicity of manners, and uniform virtue in every relation and station of life, as became a minister of Christ. This consistency of conduct procured him not only a place in the respectful affection of his friends, but amongst people of every class; several of superior rank, who were acquainted with his virtues, regarded him with honourable esteem.

Delighting in the law of the Lord, to meditate therein, day and night, he was often favoured with access to the fountain of wisdom and light, and his spirit sustained to worship in secret, when his hand was upon his labour. Out of the good treasure of his heart at all suitable opportunities, he was influenced to bring forth good things, whereby the minds of those, with whom he conversed, were many times edified. More especially for the instruction of his own family in the right way of the Lord, he was engaged

gaged frequently to talk of his law and his statutes, as he sat in his house, or walked with them by the way; and his religious care to form their tender minds to piety and virtue, through the divine blessing, was not ineffectual with several of them, to manifest the good fruits thereof, in a stayed sober and religious disposition in the early and succeeding part of life; and where through temptation and the instability of youth, any of them caused him painful sensations by a temporary deviation from the path of purity and rectitude, he had the consolation in time, to see their return and reformation, and the greatest joy in beholding his children walking in the truth. And though we have observed, he himself had not the advantage of an extensive education, yet his good sense convincing him of the benefit thereof in its proper place, induced him to give his sons a more liberal institution in learning, by which, added to his own religious tuition, through the grace of God, to which he recommended them, co-operating therewith, they became men in reputation for wisdom and honour in their respective allotments; eminent for their abilities and service in religious and civil society.

After his return from his last journey to the yearly meeting at Worcester, &c. his encreasing infirmities gradually brought on the dissolution of his body. Preceding which he had an evening of repose from bodily or mental labour, sleeping the two last weeks of his life almost continually, his memory and natural capacity apparently impaired, seemed to have left him little recollection or sensation, but that of divine favour and comfort; for when almost all other expressions

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expressions failed, he was observed to repeat the following in a very fervent and emphatical manner, "Heavenly goodness is near: heavenly goodness is near." So that under the feeling sense of that heavenly goodness, which he had ever prized as his chiefest joy, remaining as a seal upon his spirit of his acceptance with God, he finished his course in this life at Knaresborough, (where he had fixed his residence the last eight years) the 13th of 11th month, 1744, in the 70th year of his age.

C H A P. VII.

The young Pretender lands in Scotland—The Rebellion quelled.—The People called Quakers address the King upon the Extinction thereof.—who receives their Address favourably.—Case of Thomas Richardson and Benjamin Cox.—Case of Hannah Risdale.—Account of Evan Bevan.—Samuel Crisp.

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1743.
The young
pretender
lands in
Scotland.

ENGLAND having been engaged in a war with Spain since the year 1739, and France having also taken part with Spain, and declared war against England; in 1743, the eldest son of the Pretender, encouraged by the enemies, and flattered with hopes of being powerfully assisted by the adherents of his family, and of a favourable

able opportunity of asserting his father's claim to the British throne, while the government was embarrassed with a heavy and expensive war, and the people (as he was made to believe) generally discontented at the load of taxes with which they were burdened, landed in Scotland; when being joined by several clans of Highlanders, and having defeated a body of the king's forces at Preston-pans near Edinburgh, he made an inroad into the heart of England, whereby the rebellion became formidable. But the young Pretender found himself greatly disappointed in the expectation with which he had been flattered, both of foreign aid and the addition of strength expected from the malecontents in England; and the king's forces under the duke of Cumberland approaching to give him battle, he thought it safest to make a speedy retreat back to Scotland, where in the month called April of the succeeding year he was totally defeated by the duke, and an end put to the rebellion.

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1743.

The rebellion
quelled.

1745.

Which having succeeded so far as to occasion a general alarm in England, the event productive of great and general joy, brought many addresses of congratulation to the king. The people called Quakers from their yearly meeting in the third month, O. S. called May, also drew up an address on this occasion and to present at such time as the king might appoint to receive it.

The people
called
Quakers
address the
king upon
the extinction
of the
rebellion.

And in pursuance of this appointment the friends deputed, on the 28th of 3d month attended the court at Kensington, and were introduced to the king by the duke of St. Albans, when

CHAPTER. when Daniel Vandewali read the address, as
 VII. follows.

1745.

To George II. King of Great Britain, &c.

The humble Address of the People called
 Quakers from their general annual Assembly
 in London.

“ May it please the King,

“ We humbly beg leave to approach thy
 “ royal presence with united hearts to congra-
 “ tulate thee upon the deliverance of these
 “ kingdoms, from the late impending dangers,
 “ with a joy as sincere as the occasion is
 “ signal.

“ We beheld with grief and detestation an
 “ ungrateful and deluded people combined
 “ against their own happiness, and desperately
 “ engaged in open rebellion against thy person
 “ and government, wickedly attempting to sub-
 “ ject a free people to the miseries of a popish
 “ and arbitrary power.

“ As none among all thy Protestant subjects
 “ exceed us in an aversion to the tyranny, idola-
 “ try and superstition of the church of Rome, so
 “ none lie under more just apprehensions of im-
 “ mediate danger from their destructive conse-
 “ quences, or have greater cause to be thankful
 “ to the Almighty for the interposition of his
 “ providence in our preservation.

“ A preservation so remarkable makes it our
 “ indispensable duty also to acknowledge the
 “ king’s paternal care for the safety of his
 “ people, of which he hath given the most as-
 “ fured

“ fured pledge, in permitting one of his royal
 “ offspring to expofe himfelf to the greateft of
 “ dangers for their fecurity. C H A P.
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“ May we and all thy faithful fubjects de-
 “ monftrate our gratitude for this fignal inftance
 “ of divine favour, by the deepeft humiliation,
 “ and by turning every one from the evil of our
 “ ways: and may thofe, who are placed in au-
 “ thority over us, by the influence of their own
 “ example, add vigour to the laws enacted for
 “ the general fuppreffion of vice and immora-
 “ lity; fo may we have an affured ground of
 “ hope and confidence in God, that he who
 “ hath hitherto helped, will never withdraw
 “ his mercies from us.”

“ We earneftly befeech him by whom kings
 “ reign and princes decree juftice, that his pro-
 “ vidence may ever attend thy royal perfon and
 “ family, and make even the efforts of thine
 “ enemies conducive to the eftablifhment of thy
 “ throne in perfect peace; give fuccefs to thy
 “ endeavours for fettling the general tranquillity
 “ of Europe on a lafting foundation, and grant,
 “ that an uninterrupted race of kings of thy
 “ royal progeny, may perpetuate the bleffings of
 “ thy reign to our pofterity.”

Dated in London, the 22d of the 3d month
 called May, 1746, and figned by 286
 friends.

Which addrefs the king was pleafed to re-
 ceive very graciously; and to which the follow-
 ing answer was returned.

“ I thank you for this addrefs of congratula-
 “ tion, the juft concern you have fhewn there-
 VOL. IV. Z “ in

CHAP. VII. "in for me and my family is very agreeable to
 1746. "me; and you may always depend on my pro-
 tection."

After withdrawing from the king's presence, the duke of Grafton came out, and told one of the committee, that the king expressed himself very kindly respecting the address, and said, that he had not received any one which had given him so much real satisfaction; and the duke said, they might acquaint their friends thereof.

Cases of
 Thomas
 Richardson
 and
 Benjamin
 Cox.

Some few of the clergy and other claimants of tithes and ecclesiastical demands continued to be vexatious, in needlessly applying to expensive methods of prosecution; of which we find two instances this year, in the cases of Thomas Richardson and Benjamin Cox, in which the prosecutors put themselves to needless expense, without gaining any advantage.

The former, an inhabitant of Spittle-fields, was prosecuted for non-payment of 6s. for six years small tithes, at the suit of Robert Leybourn and John Brookband, filed rectors and portionists of the united rectory of Stepney; but the defendant being admitted to answer *in forma pauperis*, heard nothing further of the prosecution.

The latter, who resided at Mumby in Lincolnshire, was served with a writ from the court of Common Pleas, at the suit of Thomas Williamson, tithe-farmer, for six or seven years tithe, demanded at about 20s. per annum. He had formerly taken the tithes in kind, but having taken some offence at B. Cox, though in no wise intended by him, he commenced this prosecution.

Application

Application was early made to the bishop of Lincoln, who generously expressed his dislike of any thing that looked like persecution, and readily promised to write to the prosecutor, which had the desired effect. Williamson dropt the prosecution, and gave the said B. Cox no further trouble that way.

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We meet an occurrence which happened in the last year, of which we have few or no other instances in the present century, although very common in the beginning of this society. A young woman named Hannah Risdale, servant to John Langley, of Waltham near Grimsby, in Lincolnshire, having for a considerable time been under an apprehension of duty to go to the Steeple-house there, and speak to the people what might be required of her, went accordingly on the 25th of the 10th month, 1745, accompanied by her mistress and some other friends, and waited till the priest (Christopher Jackson) had finished his sermon: when the congregation was beginning to separate, she stood up, and (according to her own relation) said, " Neighbours, I am sent with a message from " the high priest of our profession to desire you " to turn the eyes of your mind inward and " examine yourselves, and to come to true re- " pentance and amendment of life." She also spoke to the priest, " That he must come down " from his high and exalted place, and bow at " the footstool of Christ, before he could teach " any people the way to the kingdom of hea- " ven;" or to the like effect.

Case of
Hannah
Risdale.

The priest exasperated at this declaration, called to the church-warden to put her out of the place, which he not being forward to do, the

C H A P. VII. priest in great anger violently thrust her out of the door himself. But this rude treatment was not sufficient to gratify his resentment; for having (what is termed) the sacrament to administer, he alledged, that the worship was not over, and soon after caused her to appear before a justice of peace, who took her master's word for her appearance at the next Quarter Sessions, where she accordingly appeared, the Sessions being held at Caister for the county aforesaid in the 2d month, 1746, and was there indicted for a misdemeanor, in disturbing the priest during divine service, and convicted on the Toleration-Act, fined 20*l.* for the king's use, and committed to prison in the castle of Lincoln, till the fine should be paid.

Summum jus, summa injuria. Upon perusing the clause of the Toleration Act, upon which she was convicted, it appears to me stretched to the utmost to comprize any offence she was guilty of. The words of the act are, "If any person
 " or persons, shall willingly and of purpose, *ma-*
 " *liciously or contemptuously* come into any cathe-
 " dral or parish-church, chapel or other congrega-
 " tion permitted by this act, and disquiet and
 " disturb the same, or misuse any preacher or
 " teacher, such persons or persons, upon con-
 " viction at the general or Quarter Sessions,
 " shall suffer the pain or penalty of 20*l.* to the
 " use of the king or queen; their heirs and suc-
 " cessors."

If the priest had not been more actuated by a spirit of blamable resentment and persecution (as far as in his power) than the poor woman was by any design of disturbance, this prosecution had never been commenced, much less carried

ried on to the utmost stretch of the law, of which it is still questionable, whether her action was a breach. She did not disquiet the congregation, nor disturb the priest, till the congregation broke up, and the service, as far as she knew, was ended: and though advantage was taken of a circumstance, most probably, unknown to her, her ignorance thereof exempts her from the charge of acting maliciously or contemptuously, which by the act appears to constitute such intervention criminal; so that all circumstances considered, there wanted only a little christian charity and moderation to exempt her from the penalty.

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Her friends, sympathizing with her sufferings, and commiserating her severe treatment, exerted their endeavours with the justices, and other persons of influence in that county for some months after her commitment to get the fine remitted or at least mitigated, that being yet in their power, as it was not estreated or returned into the Exchequer. But, although most of them seemed inclined to favour her, and gave expectations of joining their good offices for that purpose, at the two next succeeding Quarter Sessions; yet the priest so far prevailed upon some then on the bench, as to render the friendly interposition for her relief ineffectual.

The fine was in course estreated into the Exchequer. The only remedy therefore remaining was to apply by petition to the lords of the Treasury for her liberty. A petition was accordingly drawn up in the name of the prisoner, setting forth the matter of fact, and consequent proceedings thereupon, and further alledged, “ that she had no intention of disturbing the public

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“ public worship; but acted on a motive pure-
 “ ly conscientious, being ignorant of the breach
 “ of any law therein—that she had always be-
 “ haved herself peaceably and honestly, (in
 “ confirmation whereof, she referred to an af-
 “ fidavit of two of her neighbours annexed)
 “ and that by a long confinement, she who was
 “ only a poor servant-maid, had almost expend-
 “ ed her substance in her necessary support.

“ She therefore hopes they will commiserate
 “ her case, and remit the said fine, and that she
 “ may be discharged from her confinement, that
 “ she may be enabled to provide for her subsist-
 “ ence, by her labour as formerly.”

This petition produced the desired effect: for by an order of the board of the Treasury to the attorney-general, after going through the usual forms of law, a writ was issued by the barons of the Exchequer in the king's name, directed to the sheriffs and jailer of Lincoln, whereby she obtained her liberty after an imprisonment of more than thirteen months.

Account of
 Evan
 Bevan.

In this year, Evan Bevan of Pontimoyle in Monmouthshire, departed this life. He was the son of Charles Bevan, of Lantwit Vardre in Glamorganshire, who gave him a liberal education at school, and at the university of Oxford, where he made a considerable progress in various parts of literature.

After his return from thence he applied himself to the study and practice of the law for a season in Glamorganshire, and served the office of deputy sheriff of that county with reputation; but after some time, through the convictions of divine grace, he fell under an anxious concern about his future well-being, and that godly sorrow which

which worketh repentance not to be repented of; of which exercise and the motives of his joining in society with the people called Quakers, having himself, who could do it best, given a description in a letter to a friend, a transcript thereof, will convey the most genuine and authentic account to the reader, as follows.

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‘ Since it hath pleased the divine goodness
 ‘ to endue me with reason, I heartily thank his
 ‘ most excellent Majesty: that it has been the
 ‘ further product of his good will, to give me
 ‘ life and being in that part of the world, where
 ‘ I have had the freedom to use it; especially
 ‘ in the choice of my persuasion, and way of re-
 ‘ turning my acknowledgments to him. I wish
 ‘ that all, who make any pretensions to religion,
 ‘ would make use of this noble faculty with
 ‘ subjection to the divine will, to determine
 ‘ their choice in this grand affair; and not
 ‘ let the religion of their education be that of
 ‘ their judgment. If people were thus truly
 ‘ wise unto their own salvation, and did not too
 ‘ lazily resign themselves to the conduct of their
 ‘ guides, thereby regarding more their ease than
 ‘ safety, they would not only be the better
 ‘ able to give a reason of the hope that is in
 ‘ them, but they would shew more warmth
 ‘ in their devotion, more charity in their reli-
 ‘ gion, and more piety in their conversation than
 ‘ at present they do.

‘ When I was visited some time ago by the
 ‘ chastising hand of the Lord for sin, and my
 ‘ disobedience to his holy will, I laboured un-
 ‘ der great affliction of mind and anguish of
 ‘ spirit; and though I was constant above many
 ‘ in my attendance on the public prayers of the
 ‘ church,

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‘ church, strict in my observance of its ceremonies, and exceeding frequent in the use of private devotion, yet my burden encreased, and I waxed worse.’

‘ In this wretched and doleful condition I was, when at a relation’s house, who had providentially returned from Pennsylvania to his native country, I lighted upon R. Barclay’s apology for the Quakers; by the reading whereof I was so well persuaded of their principles, and by turning my mind inward to the divine gift, (according to their doctrine) it gave me victory, in a great measure, over our common enemy, banished away my disorderly imaginations, and restored me to my former regularity: I received such satisfaction and comfort to my distressed soul, that thereupon I left the church of England, and joined myself in society with them; and I am the more confirmed in my change, especially where it respects the worship of our Creator; because it is not only the most agreeable to the Scriptures of truth, but heaven has given us assurance of its approbation thereof, it having been at times, to my own experience, most powerfully attended with the presence of the Most High.

‘ I hope none will grudge me this mercy, because I received it not by their ministry; if they do, I have cause to suspect their charity is not of a christian latitude, since our blessed Redeemer approved not of that narrowness in his disciples in somewhat a like case.’

‘ But here to obviate the objection some may make to my change, because of the distress I lay under, and the discomposure I was subject

‘ to

' to at times, I would have it remarked, that I C H A P.
 ' read the said apology beyond my expectation, VII.
 ' with more sedateness than usual, and a more 1746.
 ' quiet composure of mind : so that with the in-
 ' fluence of the almighty, or providence, or both,
 ' I had also the benefit of that distinguishing
 ' faculty of man in the change of my opinion.
 ' O that I may never forget the Lord's mercy
 ' to my soul, who had compassion on me when
 ' I wallowed in my blood, and who said to the
 ' dry bones, live. O that all such as are visited
 ' by the chastising hand of their Maker, would
 ' seriously lay it to heart, and consider their
 ' own welfare and salvation ; I could wish with
 ' all my heart, that such who labour under this
 ' anxiety of mind, would take encouragement
 ' to hope in the Lord's mercy through their
 ' blessed Redeemer, by his kindness and
 ' long forbearance with me. I am a living mo-
 ' nument of it now ; and I hope I shall be so,
 ' while he affords me a being here. If these
 ' lines should come to the hands of any that
 ' are afflicted and distressed as I was, I have an
 ' effectual remedy, through mercy, to prescribe
 ' unto them ; turn your mind inward to the
 ' grace of God in your own hearts, refrain from
 ' your own imaginations, be still, and quietly
 ' resign yourselves to his holy will, so you shall
 ' find health to your souls, refreshment to your
 ' spirits, and the sweet consolation of the Lord
 ' in your own bosoms ; you shall find your
 ' mourning turned to gladness, and your hea-
 ' viness to joy ; this has been my experience of
 ' the goodness of the holy one of Israel, who
 ' abhors sin and iniquity ; therefore I recom-
 ' mend it to you, and I think this is no mistrust-
 ' ing

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ing of the cause, for they are the sick and wounded in spirit, not the whole, that need the Physician.

‘ As for rencuncing the covenant, which I and every christian ought to be under, of forsaking the devil and all his works, I am so far from entertaining one thought of neglecting that duty, that I think myself wholly obliged to observe it: and if I should affirm, that through the grace of God, and his assistance, (for otherwise I am satisfied I cannot do it,) the observation of it is possible, I can find no reason why it should be false doctrine in a Quaker, more than in a Churchman.

‘ As for deserting that church and ministry which the Son of God came down from heaven to establish, I am not conscious to myself thereof; for I say, Christ himself is the head of our Church, and by his spirit and grace the ordainer of our ministry.

‘ And as to the last query my ingenious acquaintance is pleased to propose, I do let him know, that my former despair and forlorn condition has been, since my adhering to that reproached people, changed into a sweet enjoyment of the goodness of God. I could not conceal the Lord’s goodness, lest he should withdraw his mercies from me.

‘ I had no secular interest to corrupt me in this change, it is apparent to many, I declined it; but as it was peace with God my maker, and mercy to my soul I wanted; so having found the pearl of great price among them, I parted with all to purchase it; or rather, I was restored to all, I mean, the enjoyment of
‘ the

‘ the divine goodness, and of myself, by setting
 ‘ a due value upon it.’

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This letter presents a lively picture of humility, sincerity, disinterestedness, meekness and modesty in the writer, which qualities seem the distinguishing traits in his character; for although qualified by his good sense and literary accomplishments to make a figure in life, and particularly in the society with which he thus associated himself; yet he declined rather than courted popularity, seeking in a retired life, to attain the favour of heaven, by growing in grace, in the saving knowledge of God, and in the acquisition of pure virtue and solid peace of mind, more than to win human applause by a display of his abilities natural or acquired. He appeared at times as a minister, mostly, I apprehend, among his friends in the place of his residence, or the neighbourhood thereof, as he found his mind opened and enlarged in love to his brethren, for the last twenty years of his life, whereby they were often edified and profitably affected, and that not only by his lively ministry, but by the awful, weighty frame of his spirit manifest in the solid gravity of his countenance, as he sat in religious meetings, feeding on the bread of life. And when from the fulness of his heart, his mouth was opened to minister, his words were few and savoury, seasoned with grace, to the affecting the hearts of the well-minded, but to the disappointment of such, as knowing him, expected to hear the eloquent orator in lengthened discourses, delivered in elegance of expression; for abiding under the power of the cross of Christ, as in his general conduct, so particularly in the exercise

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cise of his ministry, his aim was still of a higher nature, than to catch the admiration of men; the unity of the brethren in the bond of peace, the edifying them in love, and the approbation of his Maker for the discharge of his duty in sincerity and godly simplicity, were the important ends he had in view; imitating the self-denying example of the apostle, which he thus describes.

1. Cor. ii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *I came not with excellency of speech, or of wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of God; for I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified. And my speech and my preaching was not with the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in the demonstration of the spirit and of power. That your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God.*

After his joining this society he employed himself in the education of youth, having kept a school for about thirty-five years in their meeting-house at Pontimoyle, where he instructed his pupils in the useful parts of literature, as latin, greek and geography, with various branches of the mathematics; yet their institution in virtue, by endeavouring to preserve them in innocence, and fixing religious impressions upon their minds, appears to have been the principal object in his view; for which purpose he conscientiously declined instructing them in the heathen authors, for fear of depraving their taste for the pure principles of christianity; and mostly in the evening of the day he held a religious opportunity with his family and the scholars who boarded with him, to wait in silence upon the Lord, to initiate them into seri-

ous

ous meditation in retiredness of mind, and (as C H A P. VII. he felt his way open) to influence them to their moral and religious duties, particularly this of waiting in silence; laying before them the benefit thence arising, for seasoning their tender minds with profitable considerations, and strengthening them to draw near their heavenly Father, not with the mouth or the lip, but with the prevailing language of the heart, awakened to a feeling sense of what it stands in need of. 1746.

Thus he seems to have confined his service and his acquaintance pretty much to the place of his residence, and however little known in other parts, yet here, where he was known, he was esteemed and affectionately regarded for his private virtues, and public services; the meeting to which he belonged having borne testimony thereto, that, “His memory is dear to us, and being dead he yet speaketh.” He officiated as clerk to the monthly meeting for the greatest part of the time he lived there, and of consequence was much concerned in managing the discipline of the society; in which engagement his meekness and patience were conspicuous, in his forbearance towards such as by their unguarded conduct, had justly deserved the censure of the church; and his mild manner of treating with them has reached some, and reclaimed them to a sense of their deviations; his humility in seeking no pre-eminence by the superiority of his talents spiritual or natural, but condescending to the weakest in charity and pure love; plainly demonstrating whose disciple he was. Regarded by his friends as an elder and pillar in the church, worthy of double honour,

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His circumspect conduct was truly exemplary, corresponding with his doctrine, and the principles which he professed. In his conversation he was affable and engaging, instructive and edifying. So having passed his life here in pure self-denial, in prospect of the recompense of reward in the life to come, he finished his course in this world in peace, the 17th of 2d month, 1746, about the 68th year of his age, and was interred in friend's burying ground at Pontimoyle, aforesaid, and his funeral was attended by a numerous body of most persuasions and ranks in life.

Account of
Samuel
Crisp's
convincement.

Similar to the convincement of Evan Bevan, was that of Samuel Crisp, a clergyman of the church of England, who gives the following account of his convincement, in a letter to a friend.

‘ My dear Friend,

‘ I received a letter from thee, the week before last, which was sent by thy uncle Bolton: there was a great many kind expressions in it, and in thy sister Clopton's likewise. I acknowledge myself much obliged to you both, and to the whole family, for many repeated kindneses, and if my school had not ingrossed so much of my time, I would have taken opportunity to answer my dear friend's letter now, and upon that account my delay will be the more excusable.’

‘ The news thou hast heard of my late change is really true, I cannot conceal it, for it is what I glory in; neither was it any prospect
‘ of

‘ of temporal advantage that induced me to it, C H A P.
 ‘ but a sincere love to the truth, and pure re- VII.
 ‘ gard to my own soul: neither can I be suffici-
 ‘ ently thankful to God, that he hath let me 1746.
 ‘ live to this glorious day, and not cut me off in
 ‘ the midst of my sins and provocations against
 ‘ him; he is long-suffering to us-ward, not wil-
 ‘ ling that any should perish, but that all should
 ‘ come to repentance: he hath brought me off
 ‘ from the forms and shadows of religion, and let
 ‘ me see in a more illustrious manner what is the
 ‘ life and substance of it, as he found me in some
 ‘ degree faithful to that measure of light and
 ‘ knowledge he had bestowed on me, whilst I was
 ‘ in the communion of the church of England;
 ‘ therefore he was pleased of late, as I humbly
 ‘ waited upon him, to make known to me
 ‘ greater and deeper mysteries of his kingdom;
 ‘ and I can truly say, that I find by daily expe-
 ‘ rience, as I keep low and retired into that pure
 ‘ gift which he hath planted within me, things
 ‘ are every day more and more cleared up to
 ‘ me, and the truth shines, and prevails greatly
 ‘ over the kingdom of darkness; and if I should
 ‘ now turn my back upon such manifestations as
 ‘ these, and entangle myself again with the yoke
 ‘ of bondage, surely I should grieve the holy
 ‘ spirit, so that he might justly withdraw his
 ‘ kind operations, and never return more to as-
 ‘ sist and comfort me; for God is not mocked;
 ‘ religion is a very serious and weighty thing;
 ‘ repentance and salvation are not to be trifled
 ‘ with, nor is turning to God, to be put off till
 ‘ our own time, leisure, or conveniency, but we
 ‘ must love and cherish the least appearance of
 ‘ Christ, not slighting or despising the day of
 ‘ small

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‘ small things, but embrace the first opportunity of following Christ in any of his commands: When he speaks, there is such force and authority in it, that we cannot stand to cavil, dispute, or ask questions; for unless we will be so obstinate as to shut our eyes against the sun, we must needs confess to the truth of his doctrine, and presently strike in with it; and therefore when for several weeks I had lived more privately and retiredly in London, than was usual, fasting twice or thrice in a week, or sometimes more, spending my time in reading the Scriptures, and in prayer to God, this was a good preparation of my mind, to receive the truth which he was then about to make known to me: I lamented the errors of my past life, and was desirous to attain a more excellent degree of holiness than I had discovered in the church of England. In this religious retirement, God knew the breathings of my soul, how sincere I was, and resigned to him when alone; I wanted him to set me free, and to speak peace and comfort to my soul, which was grieved and wearied with the burden of my sin; for though I had strictly conformed myself to the orders and ceremonies of the church of England, and had kept myself from running into any great or scandalous enormities, the fear of the Almighty preserving me, yet still I had not that rest and satisfaction in myself which I desired, and greatly longed for; I found when I had examined my state and condition to God-ward, that things were not right with me.

‘ As for a sober and plausible conversation in the eye of the world, I knew that was a very
‘ easy

' easy attainment, a good natural temper, with C H A P.
 ' the advantage of a literal education, will quick- VII.
 ' ly furnish a man with abilities for that, so that 1746.
 ' he shall be looked upon as a saint, and very
 ' spiritual, when perhaps in chains of darkness,
 ' in the gall of bitterness, and in the very bond
 ' of iniquity: if this sort of righteousness would
 ' have done, perhaps I might make as fair pre-
 ' tensions that way as some others; but alas, I
 ' quickly saw the emptiness and unsatisfactori-
 ' ness of those things: this is a covering that
 ' will not protect or hide us from the wrath
 ' of the Almighty when he comes to judgment:
 ' 'tis not a man's natural temper, nor his edu-
 ' cation that makes him a good christian; this
 ' is not the righteousness which the gospel calls
 ' for, nor is this the truth in the inward parts
 ' which God requires; the heart and affections
 ' must be cleansed and purified before we can
 ' be acceptable to God; therefore it was death
 ' to me to think of taking up my rest in a for-
 ' mal pretence of holiness, wherein yet I saw to
 ' my grief abundance of people wrapt them-
 ' selves, slept securely and quietly, dreaming of
 ' the felicity of paradise, as if heaven were now
 ' their own, and they needed not trouble them-
 ' selves any more about religion; I could not
 ' entertain so dangerous an opinion as this, for
 ' then I should be tempted to take up my rest
 ' by the way, whilst I was travelling towards
 ' the promised land. I think I made a little
 ' progress in a holy life, and through God's as-
 ' sistance I weakened some of my spiritual ene-
 ' mies, whilst I lived in the communion of the
 ' national church. I thank my God, I can
 ' truly say, whilst I used those prayers, I did it
 A a ' with

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‘ with zeal and sincerity, in his fear and dread,
 ‘ but still I ceased not my earnest supplication
 ‘ to him in private, that he would shew me
 ‘ something more excellent, that I might get a
 ‘ a more complete victory over all my lusts and
 ‘ passions, and might perfect righteousness before
 ‘ him; for I found a great many sins and weak-
 ‘ nesses daily attending me: and though I made
 ‘ frequent resolutions to forsake those sins, yet
 ‘ still the temptation was too strong for me, so
 ‘ that often I had cause to complain with the
 ‘ apostle in the bitterness of my soul, *O wretch-*
 ‘ *ed man that I am, who shall deliver me from the*
 ‘ *body of this death!* Who shall set me free, and
 ‘ give me strength to triumph over sin, the
 ‘ world and the devil, that I may in every
 ‘ thing please God, and there may not be
 ‘ the least thought, word, or motion, gesture,
 ‘ or action, but what is exactly agreeable
 ‘ to his most holy will, as if I saw him standing
 ‘ before me, and as if I were to be judged by
 ‘ him for the thought of my heart next moment.
 ‘ O divine life! O seraphic soul! O that I
 ‘ could always stand here! for here is no re-
 ‘ flection, no sorrow, no repentance! But at
 ‘ God’s right hand there is perfect peace, and a
 ‘ river of unspeakable joy. O that we might
 ‘ imitate the life of JESUS, and be thoroughly
 ‘ furnished unto every good word and work!
 ‘ This was the frequent breathing of my soul to
 ‘ God when I was in the country, but more espe-
 ‘ cially after I had left my new preferment of a
 ‘ chaplain, and took private lodgings in Lon-
 ‘ don. In this retirement I hope I may say,
 ‘ without boasting, that I was very devout and
 ‘ religious, and I found great comfort and re-
 ‘ freshment in it from the Lord, who let me see
 ‘ the

‘ the beauty of holiness; and the sweetness that
 ‘ arises from an humbled mortified life, was
 ‘ then very pleasant to my taste, and I rejoiced
 ‘ in it more than in all the delights and plea-
 ‘ sures of the world.

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‘ And now it pleased God to shew me, that
 ‘ if I would indeed live strictly and holily as be-
 ‘ comes the gospel, then I must leave the com-
 ‘ munion of the church of England, but knew
 ‘ not yet which way to determine myself, nor
 ‘ to what body of men I should join, who were
 ‘ more orthodox, and more regular in their
 ‘ lives. As for the Quakers so called, I was so
 ‘ great a stranger to them, that I had never
 ‘ read any of their books, nor do I remember,
 ‘ that ever I conversed with any one man of that
 ‘ communion in my whole life: I think there was
 ‘ one in Foxly while I was curate there, but I
 ‘ never saw the man, though I went several
 ‘ times to his house on purpose to talk with
 ‘ him, and to bring him off from his mad and
 ‘ wild enthusiasm, as I then ignorantly thought
 ‘ it to be: as for that way, I knew it
 ‘ was every where spoken against; he that had
 ‘ a mind to appear more witty and ingenious
 ‘ than the rest, would chuse this for the subject
 ‘ of his profane jests and drollery; with this he
 ‘ makes sport, and diverts the company; for a
 ‘ Quaker is but another name for a fool or a
 ‘ madman, and was scarce ever mentioned but
 ‘ with scorn and contempt. As for drollery I
 ‘ confess I was never any great friend to it; but
 ‘ indeed if all was true that was laid to the
 ‘ Quakers charge, I thought that they were
 ‘ some of the worst people that ever appeared
 ‘ in the world, and wondered with what face
 ‘ they could call themselves christians, since I

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‘ was told they denied the fundamental articles
 ‘ of the holy faith, to which I ever bore the
 ‘ highest veneration and esteem; and notwith-
 ‘ standing I had always lived at the greatest
 ‘ distance from that people, and was very zeal-
 ‘ ous in the worship of the church of England,
 ‘ and upon all occasions would speak very ho-
 ‘ nourably of it, moreover was content to
 ‘ suffer some few inconveniences upon that ac-
 ‘ count, (as thou very well knowest) yet my fa-
 ‘ ther still looked upon me as inclining to the
 ‘ Quakers; and some years ago signified to a
 ‘ friend, he was afraid I would become an en-
 ‘ thusiast; and whilst I was at Bungan school,
 ‘ he sent me two books to read that were writ-
 ‘ ten against the Quakers, one of which was
 ‘ John Faldo’s, who hath been sufficiently ex-
 ‘ posed for it by William Penn.

‘ Whilst I lived in London in that private re-
 ‘ tired manner (I was just now speaking of)
 ‘ walking very humble in the sight of God, and
 ‘ having opportunity to reflect upon my past life,
 ‘ as I had occasion to be one day at a booksel-
 ‘ ler’s shop, I happened to cast my eye on
 ‘ Barclay’s works; and having heard in the
 ‘ country that he was a man of great account
 ‘ among the Quakers, I had a mind to see what
 ‘ their principles were, and what defence they
 ‘ could make for themselves; for sure thought
 ‘ I, these people are not so silly and ridiculous,
 ‘ nor maintainers of such horrid opinions, as
 ‘ the author of the Snake and some others would
 ‘ make us believe. I took Barclay home with
 ‘ me, and I read him through in a weeks time,
 ‘ save a little treatise at the end, which finding
 ‘ to be very philosophical, I omitted; but how-
 ‘ ever

‘ ever I soon read enough to convince me of C H A P.
 ‘ my own blindness and ignorance, in the things VII.
 ‘ of God; there I found a light to break in upon 1746.
 ‘ my mind, which did mightily refresh and com-
 ‘ fort me in that poor low, and humbled state, in
 ‘ which I then was; for I was then, and indeed had
 ‘ been for a considerable time before, very hun-
 ‘ gry and thirsty after righteousness, and there-
 ‘ fore I received the truth with all readiness of
 ‘ mind; ’twas like balm to my soul, and as
 ‘ showers of rain to the thirsty earth, which
 ‘ is parched with heat and drought. This au-
 ‘ thor laid things down so plainly, and proved
 ‘ them with such ingenuity and dexterity of
 ‘ learning, and opened the scriptures so clearly
 ‘ to me, that without standing to cavil, dispute,
 ‘ raise argument or objection, or consulting with
 ‘ flesh and blood, I presently resigned myself to
 ‘ God, and weeping for joy that I had found so
 ‘ great a treasure, I often thanked him with
 ‘ tears in my eyes, for so kind a visitation of his
 ‘ love, that he was graciously pleased to look
 ‘ toward me when my soul cried after him; so,
 ‘ though before I was in great doubt and trou-
 ‘ ble of mind, not knowing which way to deter-
 ‘ mine myself, yet now the sun breaking out so
 ‘ powerfully upon me, the clouds were scattered.
 ‘ I was now fully satisfied in my own mind
 ‘ which way I ought to go, and to what body of
 ‘ people I should join myself.

‘ So I immediately left the communion of the
 ‘ church of England, and went to Gracious-street
 ‘ meeting. After I had read Barclay, I read
 ‘ some other books of that kind, among which was
 ‘ an excellent piece, though in a small volume,
 ‘ called, *No cross no crown*: thus I continued
 ‘ reading

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' reading and frequenting meetings for several
 ' weeks together, but did not let any one soul
 ' know what I was about: the first man I con-
 ' versed with was George Whitehead, and this
 ' was several weeks after I began to read Bar-
 ' clay, and frequent their meetings: by him I
 ' was introduced into more acquaintance, and
 ' still the farther I went, the more I liked their
 ' plainness, and the decency and simplicity of
 ' their conversation: They do not use the cere-
 ' monies and salutations of the church of Eng-
 ' land, but shake hands freely, and converse toge-
 ' ther as brothers and sisters, that are sprung of the
 ' same royal seed, and made kings and priests un-
 ' to God. O, the love, the sweetness and ten-
 ' derness of affection I have seen among this
 ' people! *By this, says Christ, shall all men know*
 ' *that ye are my disciples, if you have love one to*
 ' *another: Put on therefore, says the apostle, (as*
 ' *elect of God holy and beloved) bowels of mercy,*
 ' *kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-*
 ' *suffering.*

' Thus, my dear friend, I have given thee an
 ' account of my proceeding on this affair. As
 ' to my bodily state, if thou desirest to know
 ' what it is, I may acquaint thee that I have
 ' my health, as well as ever, and I bless God I
 ' have food and raiment sufficient for me, so
 ' that I want no outward thing; and I have the
 ' necessities and conveniences of life liberally:
 ' let us not burden ourselves with taking care
 ' for the vanities and superfluities of it; let us
 ' *possess our vessels in sanctification and honour;*
 ' and as we bring our minds into perfect subjec-
 ' tion to the whole will of God, so let us bring
 ' our body to the most simple and natural way
 ' of

' of living, being content with the fewest
 ' things, never studying to gratify our wan-
 ' ton appetites, nor to follow the customs and
 ' humours of men, but how we may so contract
 ' our earthly cares and pleasures, that we may
 ' bring most glory to God, most health and
 ' peace to our own souls, and do most service
 ' to the truth; and if this be our aim, certainly
 ' a very small portion of the things of this
 ' world will suffice us: seeing we are christians,
 ' we should therefore earnestly pursue those
 ' things which bring us nearest to God, and
 ' which are most perfective of human nature; for
 ' what is more than a competency, seems to be a
 ' burden to a generous philosophical soul, which
 ' would breathe in a pure vehicle, that so it
 ' may have a quick sense and relish of all
 ' blessings, both of the superior and inferior
 ' Worlds.

' Thou knowest, my dear friend, that religion
 ' is a very serious thing, and repentance is a
 ' great work, and one precious immortal soul,
 ' is of more worth than ten thousand perishing
 ' worlds, with all their pomp and glory: there-
 ' fore let us take courage, and be valiant for the
 ' truth upon the earth, let us not content our-
 ' selves with a name and profession of godliness,
 ' let us come to the life and power of it, let us
 ' not despond of getting the victory; we have a
 ' little strength for God; let us be faithful to
 ' him, and he will give us more strength, so that
 ' we shall see the enemy of our peace fall before
 ' us, and nothing shall be impossible unto us: I
 ' say, my friend, let us be faithful to that mea-
 ' sure of light and knowledge which God has
 ' given us, to be profited and edified by it in a
 ' spiritual

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‘ spiritual life, and as God sees we are diligent and
 ‘ faithful to work with the strength we have, he
 ‘ will more and more enlighten us, so that we
 ‘ shall see to the end of those forms and
 ‘ shadows of religion wherein we have formerly
 ‘ lived; but if he sees we are about to take up
 ‘ our rest in those shadows, that we grow cold
 ‘ and indifferent in the pursuit of holiness, run-
 ‘ ning out into notions and speculations, and
 ‘ have more mind to dispute, and to make
 ‘ a shew of learning and subtilty, than to lead a
 ‘ holy and devout life, then ’tis just with God
 ‘ to leave us in a carnal and polluted state, to
 ‘ continue yet but in the outward court, where
 ‘ we may please ourselves with beholding the
 ‘ beauty and ornaments of a worldly sanctuary,
 ‘ and never witness the veil being taken away,
 ‘ and that we are brought by the blood of Jesus,
 ‘ into the holiest of all, where alone there is
 ‘ true peace with God, and rest to the weary
 ‘ soul. I could say much upon this head, if
 ‘ time or leisure would give leave.

‘ As for a particular answer to thy letter, I
 ‘ have not time now to give it; and for the
 ‘ present let this general answer suffice: and if
 ‘ thou wilt consider things in their pure ab-
 ‘ stracted nature, and not suffer the prejudice
 ‘ of education to sway thee, but in fear and hu-
 ‘ mility wilt search out the truth for thyself,
 ‘ thou wilt find that there needs no other an-
 ‘ swer to thy letter than what I have already
 ‘ given; for by waiting upon God, and dili-
 ‘ gently seeking him, thou wilt find an answer to it
 ‘ in thy own bosom, and this will be much more
 ‘ full, clear and satisfactory than I, or any other
 ‘ man living can pretend to give thee, or any
 ‘ other

‘ other friend who hath lovingly wrote to me, C H A P.
 ‘ for whom I desire, with all the sincere hearted VII.
 ‘ in the church of England, that they may 1746.
 ‘ come to witness the almighty power of God,
 ‘ to save and redeem them from every yoke;
 ‘ and that they may see clearly to the end of
 ‘ those things which are abolished, and come to
 ‘ the enjoyment of spiritual and heavenly
 ‘ things themselves, is the daily prayer and deep
 ‘ travel of my soul, God knoweth. ’Till I can
 ‘ be more particular, if thou please thou mayest
 ‘ communicate this to them, and let them know
 ‘ that I am well, and thank them for their
 ‘ kind letters. Let us remember to pray for
 ‘ one another with all fervency, that we may
 ‘ stand perfect in the whole will of God, Amen,
 ‘ faith my soul. I am thy most affectionate
 ‘ friend and servant in Jesus,

‘ SAMUEL CRISP.’

This epistle and the former of Evan Bevan
 are introduced by William Sewel as instances,
 among many others, that those from other
 societies, who have joined the people called
 Quakers, have been induced thereto, not by in-
 terested, but by pure conscientious motives; while
 those few who have left them to attach them-
 selves to the established church, or other pro-
 fessions, have been generally actuated by pique,
 self-interest, libertinism or ambition, to indulge
 themselves in a latitude of conduct, which the
 rules of this society do not allow of, or to attain
 those honours or profitable employments, which
 are restricted to a conformity to the established
 religion.

C H A P.

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Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.—The Quakers (so called) send R. Barclay's Apology to each of the Plenipotentiaries.—Letter to the Ambassadors.—Account of Benjamin Kidd.—Alteration of the Style.—Paper of Advice thereupon.—Account of John Richardson and Samuel Bownas.—Case of Daniel Hollis, who died a Prisoner.—Account of Peter Andrews and Abraham Farrington.—Death of King George II.

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Treaty of
Aix-la-
Chapelle.

The peo-
ple called
Quakers
in London,
agree to
send
R. Bar-
clay's apo-
logy to
each of the
plenipo-
tentiaries.

THE war which had begun between England and Spain in 1739, still continued; and in the intermediate time, the flame had spread over several parts of the continent of Europe, but by this time, the several warring powers were heartily tired of contests which had consumed profusion of blood and treasure, and had been productive of abundance of mischief, and in the events of which, all, in their turns had found themselves disappointed, as generally happens in warlike contentions. A negotiation was therefore resolved upon, and the contending powers agreed to hold a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, for the purpose of concluding a peace, to which all the powers at war sent their Plenipotentiaries.

The people called Quakers in London (as had been done before at the treaty of Nimeguen) at the instance of Simeon Warner resolved to send some of Robert Barclay's apologies to Aix-la-

la-Chapelle, to be presented to the Plenipotentiaries of the several states assembled there for this purpose; and Jan Vander Werf of Amsterdam, being reputed to be the properest person to deliver the same, being writ to for that purpose, he consented.

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In the mean time it was thought expedient to prepare an epistle by way of introduction, as reasons for presenting the apology, which being drawn up and approved, was printed in English and Latin, and is as followeth.

With an
epistle to
them.

To the Ambassadors of the Christian Princes and States, met to conclude a general Peace at Aix-la-Chapelle, the People called Quakers with Health and Happiness.

‘ Near a century ago it pleased the Almighty
‘ to raise up a people in this kingdom, to publish among other gospel truths, the glad tidings
‘ proclaimed at the birth of our blessed Saviour,
‘ *Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace,*
‘ *good will to men;* and also declare to the world,
‘ the inconsistency of wars and fighting, with
‘ the example and precepts of Christ, and the
‘ doctrine of his followers.

‘ The almighty hath been graciously pleased
‘ to continue us a people to bear witness to the
‘ same divine truths, and to engage us in love
‘ to the whole race of mankind; to promote
‘ the knowledge and practice of the blessed
‘ doctrines, as they tend so manifestly to extirpate violence, injustice, and all the dreadful
‘ calamities of war; to establish peace and harmony in the world, and to exalt the happiness
‘ of mankind both here and hereafter.

‘ To

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‘ To contribute as much as in us lies to these
 ‘ important purposes, we are induced to request
 ‘ your acceptance and candid perusal of the
 ‘ apology herewith presented to you, written by
 ‘ our friend Robert Barclay, for the spreading
 ‘ of truth, and the information of mankind,
 ‘ which at the same time that it exhibits the
 ‘ meek and humble pattern of holy Jesus, the
 ‘ doctrine of his apostles, the sentiments of the
 ‘ early christians, and our belief in relation to
 ‘ wars; contains a compendious view of the
 ‘ christian religion, divested of all those inven-
 ‘ tions with which it has been corrupted by the
 ‘ spirit of error, the pride, the wickedness, or
 ‘ the ignorance of men.

‘ This apology was addressed and delivered
 ‘ by the author to Charles II. king of Great
 ‘ Britain, and accepted by him and his royal
 ‘ successors, to whom it has been since present-
 ‘ ed, with marks of regard: we fervently wish
 ‘ it may contribute to your solid advantage,
 ‘ and by your means, to the promotion of peace,
 ‘ righteousness and true piety amongst those,
 ‘ over whom your influence in your respective
 ‘ stations may extend.

‘ May the God of peace and love make you
 ‘ the happy instruments of settling the tranquil-
 ‘ lity of Europe on a lasting foundation, and
 ‘ perpetuate the blessings of peace to the states
 ‘ you represent, and through them to the whole
 ‘ world.’

Signed in London on behalf of the aforesaid
 people, the 12th of 6th month called August,
 1748.

Joseph

Joseph Ollive,
 Jacob Hagen,
 John Hayward,

David Barclay,
 Simeon Warner,
 Thomas Hyam.

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A fuitable number of the apologies, in different languages, being sent over to Jan Vander Werf, and duly received by him, he took a journey to Aix-la-Chapelle to execute his commission, and by the account received from him, he was pretty well satisfied with the success he had, having waited upon the several ambassadors and presented them with apologies as directed, from most of whom he met with a friendly and courteous reception, and the letter and apologies were gratefully accepted, except by the French ambassadors, who being informed that they were upon religious affairs, signified they had no occasion for them, and refused accepting them.

Benjamin Kidd, who was born at or near Settle in Yorkshire, of parents in profession with the people called Quakers, was educated in that profession, and proved a very acceptable and serviceable member and minister of the society, and although his place in the estimation of his friends and others, might seem to require a more particular account of the transactions of his life and of his services, yet for want of other authentic materials, I must confine myself to the testimony, given of him by his Friends.

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 Account of
 Benjamin
 Kidd.

While he was very young he was favoured with the lively and powerful influences of divine grace, inclining him to religious thoughtfulness; and being faithful to the discoveries thereof, he was in or about the 21st year of his age, called to the work of the ministry; wherein through the operation

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operation of the the same divine principle, he grew in his gift, and soon became remarkable for the excellency thereof, even while he appeared young in years; and thro' the advancing stages of his life, faithful in the discharge of manifested duty, and humbly relying upon and fervently seeking divine aid and preservation, he grew in grace, and I think it may be said, in favour with God and man.

He is described by his contemporary fellow members, partakers of the benefit of his labours, and witnesses of his virtue, as a man endued by the supreme dispenser of all good, with eminent qualifications for singular usefulness and service in the church. In the conducting of the discipline of the society manifesting peculiar abilities, and exerting them for the good of the body in great wisdom, being deep in religious experience, sound in judgment, discreet and able in counsel, and zealous for the promotion of truth and righteousness in the earth. In the exercise of his ministry well qualified to divide the word of truth, and to unfold the mysteries of the gospel, to the informing and convincing many who before were unacquainted therewith, and to the comfort and encouragement of such as were under affliction and distress of mind in their religious progress.

He was a man of great sincerity and integrity; in his common conversation becomingly cheerful, but weighty and instructive; in his life and conduct an example of those virtues, which his doctrine recommended; peculiarly kind and fatherly towards his friends, he was greatly respected by them; compassionate to the poor and distressed; generous in his disposition; of good understanding

understanding in the affairs of life, and freely communicative; he was very serviceable and respectable amongst his neighbours; and generally beloved by persons of all ranks and denominations to whom he was known.

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Being a man of universal benevolence, and zealous to do good to all, he did not confine his service and usefulness to the place of his residence and the neighbourhood thereof; but followed the call of duty in paying religious visits to sundry parts of England, for the propagation of righteousness and truth. And about the 30th year of his age, he took a voyage to America on the like occasion, where many were convinced, and others confirmed through his powerful ministry. His service there was very great, and to the edification, comfort and satisfaction of friends, as appears by sundry accounts from thence.

He afterwards married and settled at Banbury, in Oxfordshire, and visited the meetings of his friends in Ireland, and continued his visits to various parts of England: the city of London in particular, frequently partook of the benefit of his pious and fervent labours in the ministry, to the great help and consolation of many; and in all his journies moving under the influence of divine power and authority, he was enabled to turn many from darkness to light, and from the paths of disobedience to the wisdom of the just.

A few months before his death he was greatly afflicted with the stone; yet at times he went a little out; particularly he attended the quarterly meeting at Oxford, in the 10th month, 1750, through great affliction of body. About a month

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month before his decease, he attended the meeting at Banbury, at the burial of a young man of his acquaintance. In the course of the meeting he was raised, beyond all expectation to preach the gospel powerfully for about an hour, to the tendering the hearts of almost all present; many of his neighbours being there, confessed with admiration, to the power by which he was raised that day; remarking, that he had been a good man all his time, and that the Almighty had crowned him in the conclusion. After this he was mostly confined within doors, and continued in great submission to the divine will, without murmuring or repining.

A friend from London visiting him, found him under great bodily affliction, but freely resigned to the divine will; expressing his firm hope in that power which had all along supported him, and that though the greatest kindness to him was to solicit a release from his pains, yet he desired to be content and wait the Lord's time; and when the said friend took his leave of him, he expressed himself to him in an affectionate manner to his great comfort and encouragement.

At another time, having delivered some excellent exhortations to those present with him, he added for their encouragement to persevere in their christian progress, "I am under no fear, nor doubtful apprehensions; for I know that for me to live is Christ, and to die is gain."

When he was seized with the hic-cough, he seemed full of joy, saying, "This is a welcome messenger, it is one step nearer;" his wife standing by, asking why, he answered, "It will
" be

“ be a glorious change, I am not afraid to die, C H A P.
 “ and to put on immortality; that will be de- VIII.
 “ firable, yet I leave it, though of choice I had 1751.
 “ rather be dissolved; but the Lord’s time will
 “ be the best time.”

He died the 21st of 3d month, 1751, aged about 59 years, a minister 38 years.

In 1751, an act of parliament was passed in Alteration of the style. England, for adopting the new style instead of the old, which had hitherto been used in the British dominions. The latter has been termed the Julian, from Julius Cæsar, who to reduce the civil year nearly to an equality with the tropical, considered the year to consist of 365 days, and six hours, and therefore ordered that to every fourth year one day should be added, and so make it consist of 366 days by adding one day to the month called February. But the true length of the year is computed to be 365 days 5 hours, 49 minutes nearly, i. e. 11 minutes yearly, less than the Julian computation, which in 131 years, makes the difference of one whole day. In 1572, pope Gregory XIII. reformed the Julian calendar by putting the year ten days forward, and this reformed calendar was thenceforward used by all those states, which owned the pope’s supremacy, and termed the new style; while most of the protestant states continued the use of the former form of date, frequently for distinction adding O. S. signifying old style, and for the same reason such as used the Gregorian form would annex N. S. to the date. From 1572 to 1752, one day more had been anticipated, from which reason it was enacted that eleven days should be taken out of the calendar, and the day after the 2d of September, be called the 14th.

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In conformity to this alteration the meeting for sufferings in London drew up, and circulated to friends the following directions and advice.

An Epistle to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends, in Great Britain, Ireland and America.

‘ Dear Friends,

‘ Pursuant to the directions of the last yearly meeting, and the report of a committee, appointed by the said meeting to consider what information or advice might be necessary to be given to friends, in relation to an act made the last session of parliament, for regulating the commencement of the year, and correcting the calendar now in use, this meeting hath thought convenient to communicate unto you the following advices, viz.

‘ 1. By the said act it is ordered and enacted, that, “ The supputation, according to which the year of our Lord beginneth on the 25th day of March, shall not be made use of from and after the last day of December, 1751, and that the first day of January next following the said last day of December, shall be reckoned, taken, deemed and accounted to be, the first day of the year of our Lord, 1752, and so on from time to time, the first day of January in every year which shall happen in time to come, shall be reckoned, taken, deemed and accounted to be the first day of the year, and that each new year, shall accordingly commence and begin to be reckoned,

“ koned, from the first day of every such month ^{C H A P.}
“ of January.” ^{VIII.}

‘ 2. The opinion of the said committee, 1751.
‘ agreed to by the yearly meeting, was, That
‘ in all the records and writings of friends, from
‘ and after the last day of the 10th month, cal-
‘ led December, next, the computation of time,
‘ established by the said act, should be observed;
‘ and that accordingly the first day of the 11th
‘ month, commonly called January, next, shall
‘ be reckoned and deemed, by friends, the first
‘ day of the first month of the year 1752, and

| | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|---|-----------------|---|
| The | <i>Eleventh</i> | Month
called | <i>January</i> | shall be rec-
koned, and
stiled the | <i>First</i> | Month of
the next,
and every
succeed-
ing Year. |
| | <i>Twelfth</i> | | <i>February</i> | | <i>Second</i> | |
| | <i>First</i> | | <i>March</i> | | <i>Third</i> | |
| | <i>Second</i> | | <i>April</i> | | <i>Fourth</i> | |
| | <i>Third</i> | | <i>May</i> | | <i>Fifth</i> | |
| | <i>Fourth</i> | | <i>June</i> | | <i>Sixth</i> | |
| | <i>Fifth</i> | | <i>July</i> | | <i>Seventh</i> | |
| | <i>Sixth</i> | | <i>August</i> | | <i>Eighth</i> | |
| | <i>Seventh</i> | | <i>September</i> | | <i>Ninth</i> | |
| | <i>Eighth</i> | | <i>October</i> | | <i>Tenth</i> | |
| | <i>Ninth</i> | | <i>November</i> | | <i>Eleventh</i> | |
| | <i>Tenth</i> | | <i>December</i> | | <i>Twelfth</i> | |

‘ 3. And whereas for the more regular com-
‘ putation of time, the same act of parliament
‘ doth direct, that, “The natural day next im-
“ mediately following the second day of Sep-
“ tember, in the year 1752, shall be called,
“ reckoned and accounted to be the fourteenth
“ day of September, omitting for that time
“ only, the eleven intermediate days of the
“ common calendar.” The opinion of the said
‘ committee, approved by the yearly meeting,
‘ was, that friends should be found in the ob-
‘ servance of this direction, and omit the said
‘ eleven nominal days accordingly.

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‘ And we think it may be useful and expedient, on the présent occasion, to revive in your remembrance some of the motives which induced our ancient friends, to forbear the vulgar appellations of the months and days, and to observe in their conversations and writings, such names as were agreeable to scripture, and the practice of good men therein recorded.

‘ The children of Israel, the people whom God chose out of all the families of the earth, to place his name among, and to make himself known unto, were strictly commanded, not only to abstain from the idolatrous practices of the nations, in the midst of whom they dwelt, but were enjoined to be *circumspect in all things that the Lord commanded*, and even to make *no mention of the names of other gods, neither to let it be heard out of their mouths*, Exod. xxiii. 13. This injunction was not relative to any legal or typical rites, external ceremonies, or institutions of the law peculiar to the Jewish nation, but was a perpetual command and standing ordinance, respecting the honour of the one Almighty Being, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, and as such, ought to be regarded by us, and by all the generations of those, who with the heart believe, as well as with the tongue confess, *that the Lord he is God, and that there is none else besides him*, Deut. iv. 35. who hath declared, *I am the Lord, that is my name, and my glory will I not give to another, neither my praise to graven images*, Isaiah xlii. 8.

‘ Convinced of this great and everlasting truth, both by the testimony of the holy scripture

' ture, and the manifestation of that divine C H A P.
 ' principle, which leads those who are faithful VIII.
 ' to its teachings, from all that would dishonour 1751.
 ' the name of God, either in word or deed; our
 ' ancient friends were conscientiously concern-
 ' ed to refrain from the use of those names of
 ' months and days, which had been ascribed
 ' by way of honour to the idols of the heathen,
 ' and in conformity to their false worships: this
 ' concern rested upon them from a firm persua-
 ' tion, that the glorious gospel day and time
 ' was come, wherein the Lord was fulfilling his
 ' covenant with Israel, viz. *I will take away the*
 ' *names of *Baalim out of his mouth, and they shall*
 ' *no more be remembered by their name, Hosea*
 ' *ii. 17.*

' And that you may the more clearly discern
 ' the importance of that christian testimony,
 ' borne by our predecessors in this case, we re-
 ' commend what follows to your serious confi-
 ' deration, viz.

' A brief Account of the Origion of the Names
 ' of some Months of the Year, and of all the
 ' Days of the week, now customarily and
 ' commonly used.

' I. January was so called from Janus, an an-
 ' cient king of Italy, whom heathenish supersti-
 ' tion had deified, to whom a temple was built,
 ' and this month dedicated.

' II. February was so called from Februa, a
 ' word denoting purgation by sacrifices; it be-
 ' ing

* This word Baalim, being the plural number of Baal,
 signifying Lord, has relation to the names of divers idols of
 the heathen worshipped in several places.

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ing usual in this month, for the priests of the heathen god Pau, to offer sacrifices and perform certain rites, conducing, as was supposed, to the cleansing or purgation of the people.

III. March was so denominated from Mars, feigned to be the god of war, whom Romulus, founder of the Roman empire, pretended to be his father.

IV. April is generally supposed to derive its name from the Greek appellation of Venus, an imaginary goddess worshipped by the Romans.

V. May is said to have been so called from Maia, the mother of Mercury, another of their pretended Ethnick deities, to whom in this month they paid their devotions.

VI. June is said to take its name from Juno, one of the supposed goddesses of the heathen.

VII. July so called from Julius Cæsar, one of the Roman emperors, who gave his own name to this month, which before was called Quintilis, or the fifth.

VIII. August so named in honour of Augustus Cæsar, another of the Roman emperors. This month was before called Sextilis or the Sixth. †

The other four months, namely, September, October, November and December, still retain their numerical latin names, which, according to the late regulation of the calendar, will for the future be improperly applied. However from the continued use of them hitherto, as well as from the practice of the Jews before the Babylonish captivity, || it seemeth highly probable,

† Macroh. Saturn. lib. 1. cap. 12.

|| See the scriptures to the time of Ezra.

‘ bable, that the method of distinguishing the C H A P. VIII.
 ‘ months by their numerical order only, was 1751.
 ‘ the most ancient, as it is the most plain, simple
 ‘ and rational.

‘ As the idolatrous Romans thus gave names
 ‘ to several of the months in honour of their
 ‘ pretended deities: so the like idolatry prevail-
 ‘ ing among our Saxon ancestors, induced them
 ‘ to call the days of the week by the name of
 ‘ the idol, which on that day they peculiarly
 ‘ worshipped. Hence

‘ The first day of the week was by them cal-
 ‘ led Sunday, from their accustomed adoration
 ‘ of the sun upon that day.

‘ The second day of the week they called
 ‘ Monday, from their usual custom of worship-
 ‘ ping the moon on that day.

‘ The third day of the week they named
 ‘ Tuesday, in honour of one of their idols cal-
 ‘ led Tuifco.

‘ The fourth day of the week was called
 ‘ Wednesday, from the appellation of Woden,
 ‘ another of their idols.

‘ The fifth day of the week was called Thurs-
 ‘ day, from the name of an idol called Thor,
 ‘ to whom they paid their devotions upon that
 ‘ day.

‘ The sixth day of the week was termed Fri-
 ‘ day, from the name of Friga, an imaginary
 ‘ goddess by them worshipped.

‘ The seventh day they stiled Saturday, as is
 ‘ supposed from Saturn, or Seater, by them
 ‘ then worshipped. §

‘ The

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‘ The continued use of these names of days, derived from such gross idolatry of the heathen, is a demonstration, how little the purity of the christian religion was understood by the generality of those who came into the public profession of it.

‘ The following ages of Popish superstition, not only indulged their proselytes in the use of such heathenish names and customs, but also invented and introduced other unsound and unscriptural practices in religion. For when the profession of the christian religion became national, multitudes of the heathen priests, whose interest lay in the performance of rites, ceremonies and sacrifices, embraced prevailing christianity with selfish views, and laboured early, with too much success, to find employment for themselves, by imposing on the people a new set of ceremonies and sacrifices, bearing some resemblance to those which in their former state of heathenism they had been accustomed to. From this corrupt source sprang the Popish sacrifice of the mass, the celebration of which, at particular times, and on particular occasions, gave rise to the vulgar names of Michaelmas, Martinmas, Christmas, and the like.

‘ Seeing therefore that these appellations and names of days, months and times, are of an idolatrous or superstitious original, contrary to the divine command, the practice of good and holy men in former ages, and repugnant to the christian testimony borne by our faithful friends and predecessors in the truth, for the sake of which they patiently endured many revilings: let neither the reproach of singularity,

‘ rity nor the specious reasonings of such as
 ‘ would evade the cross of Christ, turn you
 ‘ aside from the simplicity of the gospel, nor
 ‘ discourage you from keeping to the language
 ‘ of truth, in denominating the months and
 ‘ days according to the plain and scriptural
 ‘ way of expression; and so shall we follow the
 ‘ example of our worthy elders, and come up in
 ‘ a noble and honourable testimony against
 ‘ these, and all other remains of idolatry and
 ‘ superstition.’

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From the meeting for sufferings in London,
 the 6th day of the 7th month, 1751.

It is to be especially noted, that the dates
 hitherto used have been conformed to the old
 style, and sometimes so distinguished; and here-
 after the months are numbered according to
 the new style, as regulated in the foregoing di-
 rections.

This year John Richardson, formerly of
 Bridlington, and afterwards of Hutton in the
 county of York, a minister of deep experience
 and primitive simplicity and self denial, died in
 an advanced age, very much devoted to the
 service of God, and promotion of pure religi-
 on. He was the son of William Richardson, of
 North Cave in the same county, who was early
 convinced by the ministry of William Dewsbury,
 and joined himself in society with the people
 called Quakers, amongst whom he was a ser-
 viceable member and minister; but John was
 early deprived of the religious care, oversight
 and instruction of his well concerned father, who

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 Account of
 John Rich-
 ardson.

was

CHAP. was removed out of this life, when this son was
 VIII. about 13 years of age.

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Peculiarly severe were the trials of this friend, both inward and outward. From the time of his father's death much bodily hardship, circumstances singularly distressing from various outward occurrences fell to his lot, besides a succession of internal conflicts and deep exercise of mind in his religious researches. For in this early part of his youth, he felt the convictions of divine grace disquieting his mind, when he was tempted to commit evil in any degree, in word or in deed. Yet reluctant (as is the nature of man) to take up the cross to his corrupt will and propensities, he strove to attain ease and peace, by silencing these disquieting convictions, and indulging his natural inclinations, which were not to gross evils, but to youthful liberties.

And notwithstanding he received his early education in the society of the people called Quakers, yet after the decease of his father, his surviving parent, though well esteemed in her neighbourhood, for industry and honesty, seemeth to have been not over solicitous about the religious institution of her offspring, leaving them in this respect pretty much to their own direction, so that her son John was at liberty to use his own discretion to associate with any religious society; and he appears to have used the liberty granted him, resorting sometime to one, and sometime to another, as his inclination led him, 'till about the sixteenth year of his age.

Yet even in this unsettled state as to religious profession, he was favoured with religious desires, which engaged him to converse with professors
 of

of different denominations, enquiring of them for information, if they could direct him where-in he might find a safe rest to his soul; but after much searching and enquiring of those (as he expresseth it) who were but in the letter, and in the outward court, where the veil is over the understanding, he found his search ineffectual; and therefore instead of going from one set of professors to another for information, he declined to join any visible society, and betook himself to a retired life, seeking solitary and private places to pour out his supplications to the Almighty, that he would bring him to the saving knowledge of his truth. This petition he thought was graciously answered, being favoured with the illumination of the true light, discovering the wants of his soul in its unregenerated estate; and the necessity of being born again, to be prepared for an entrance into the kingdom of heaven. Through many painful conflicts under the cross, crucifying him to the will of the flesh, and the spirit of the world, and great distress and tribulation of mind, under the ministration of condemnation, he gradually experienced the washing of regeneration, and the renewings of the Holy Ghost, to effect that change, whereby the condemnation was removed, and justification in righteousness measurably attained.

In his time of unfixèdness in religious profession and of seeking peace, if possible, without taking up the cross to his own corrupt will and inclinations; to that of the people called Quakers, their name of contempt, their strict way of life and demeanour, plainness of habit and language (none of which he saith he learned of them) he had a particular aversion, but when
his

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his eyes were illuminated to see the teacher, that was not removed into a corner, and learn of him, who is meek and lowly, taking his yoke upon him, he found himself circumscribed and restricted to the like self-denying practice, which had been the object of his aversion, and that not by imitation but conviction, in like manner as the faithful members of this society from their beginning had been restricted. Being thus by the same internal monitor brought into the same faith and practice, he reclaimed his birth-right in this society, and attended their meetings as diligently as his circumstances would well admit, about the 16th year of his age; and about the 18th, he appeared in the ministry and in process of time became an excellent minister, not of the letter only that killeth, but of the spirit that giveth life.

Now when he had attained to some stability in religion, and peace of mind succeeded the inward conflicts and trouble through which he had hitherto passed, his faith and patience were put to close and severe trials from various outward contingencies, of a nature particularly distressing. His father left a widow with five children, and but little substance beside his farm to subsist upon. John was the eldest, but one sister, who died soon after, whereby he found himself under a necessity to apply to hard labour for his own support, the help of his mother, and education of his younger brothers. By his labour and care, through the divine blessing, the family were decently supported, and were prospering in their circumstances, when an occurrence happened, which was attended with grievous consequences to this young man. His mother was solicited

solicited to a second marriage by a person rigidly zealous for Presbyterianism. John, apprehending he foresaw unhappy consequences from the unequal match, took the liberty to remonstrate against it, and told his mother that he feared, ‘ she had too much an eye to the man’s circumstances (for he was reputed to be rich) but if she thought to improve her children’s portions by a connection with him, she would meet with a disappointment of her hope; and not only so, but a blasting and mildew would come upon their own substance, the fruit of much labour and care, and which he believed would be blessed to them, if they kept faithful to the truth, and would content themselves with their present condition.’ His mother, although she seemed affected with his discourse, and gave some expectation that she would not marry any person with whom he was dissatisfied; was notwithstanding prevailed upon to join herself in the marriage against which he had remonstrated, which turned out much as he had foreseen.

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For with her the family being young, removed to the step-father’s house, and their substance was intermixed with his; his mother dying before her husband, and he afterwards marrying again, by his last will left John Richardson five shillings, and some small token to his only surviving brother, in bar of any demand for their share of their parent’s substance, yet this was at the time a light affliction to what he had in the intermediate time to experience.

He had not been long in his step-father’s house ’till he found his situation very uneasy. His father-in-law treated him with symptoms of great

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great displeasure, harshness and severity, on account of his going to meeting. John who seems to have been kept by him more in the station of a servant than a son, endeavoured to appease his displeasure by unremitted diligence in his business, working very hard, beyond his ability, even to that degree, that it seemed wonderful how his young weak body sustained the hardships which he at this time endured. But his most earnest endeavours to gain his father's countenance proved ineffectual; for his faithfulness and diligence in his business availed little. His father seemed callous to all reconciliation, while he continued to frequent the meetings of the people called Quakers, and declined the accompanying him to those of the Presbyterians. To render his attendance of the former as uneasy and distressing as possible, his father would send him on first day mornings, some miles into the fields and over the common to look after his cattle, horses and sheep, both to fatigue him and straiten him for time to reach the meetings of his friends, to which he had two, three, four, sometimes six miles to go, mostly on foot, and often so limited in time, that he was obliged to walk very fast, and frequently to run, to reach the meeting timely; which severity he bore with remarkable patience. His mother was affected with great anxiety and grief, under the mortifying reflection upon the hard circumstances, in which she had been instrumental to involve a dutiful son, who, she acknowledged, had never disobliged her, but had obeyed all her lawful directions and desires with alacrity; and that in contradiction to the gentle caution, wherein he had previously communicated his
opinion

opinion of the consequences of her marriage. Several friends also could hardly forbear shedding tears, when they saw him come into the meeting in a violent heat and perspiration, sympathizing with him in the hard task he had to undergo. On his return from meetings he was generally received by his father with a countenance of displeasure and harsh rebuke as for delay, although he returned as seasonably as his strength and the distance of place would admit.

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At some times his father, on the other hand, would treat him with apparent kindness, to induce him to go with him to the place of worship he frequented, offering him in that case a horse to ride. Again he took him in his arms, and fawningly told him to this effect, that, 'if John ' would behave as a son to him, he should find ' a father in him,' hinting that he had no near kindred. As John was conscious that he had behaved to him as a son in doing every thing in the way of business that he required of him, and by his diligence had frequently anticipated his commands, he was at no loss to interpret his father's meaning in this proposal, and therefore replied, ' If in thus making ' me thy son, thou intends to hinder me from ' going to meetings, or to oblige me to go to ' the Presbyterians meetings, or any thing that ' is against my conscience, I cannot on this condition be thy son.' And for the same reason he refused to become his hired servant, which he offered to make him and give him wages.

When his father found that neither his frowns, his imposition of hardships, his menaces, nor his promises of kindness could shake his step-son's steadfastness in his religious principles,

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principles, he suffered his passion and bigotry so far to erase all tenderness and humanity, that in much wrath he abruptly told him that, ‘ he should stay no longer in his house.’ John pleaded against this hard sentence ‘ his constant endeavour to serve him faithfully to the best of his power by night or by day, and his purpose to do so still, as far as he could without hurting his conscience or wounding the peace of his mind, which he valued above all the mutable things of this world. But his father was too much determined, to be moved by any considerations of this kind. John even solicited his father to permit him to stay till he might hear of a place of service (though so weakened and emaciated by hard labour that he hardly seemed fit for one;) but the obdurate man would not comply with this last reasonable request. His mother was an afflicted witness of her son’s solicitations, and her husband’s obstinacy, which so overwhelmed her in sorrow, that John found it requisite to leave his father, in order to endeavour to alleviate his mother’s grief, telling her, ‘ That if he was but faithful, he trusted in the Lord that he would take care of him that he should not want.’ Withal reminding her, ‘ that as she had entered into marriage covenants with her husband, she should endeavour to perform them, and to make her life as easy as she could, and never to send him any thing, which her husband knew not of, for he was not free to receive it,’ although all their substance was sunk in his hands.

Thus determined his father turned him out, weak in body, dejected in mind, with very little money in his pocket, and very ordinary clothes

clothes upon his back. Upon his taking leave^{C H A P. VIII.} of the family many tears were shed, especially by his mother. The father stood as one amazed to see the marks of so general affection manifested toward him, and so general a sorrow at his departure. Yet as destitute of common justice as of every tender feeling, he hesitated not to turn him out into the wide world, to make his way through life, stripped of every accommodation, and in as destitute a condition as almost any one could be, notwithstanding this father was reckoned rich, and certainly owed him some recompense for his service, and for his share of his own father's property, which appears to have been considerably improved by his care and labour, and of which this father had possessed himself.

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He went out on the common, where he had taken many solitary walks before, yet none so severely trying as this, because he knew not whither to go, nor where to lay his head, not but many of his friends would have given him a kind reception, but he was unwilling to be burdensome to any, unless he knew they had business to employ him in, and looking to one side and another, he thought it appeared, as if his way was hedged in on every side, and that scarce any man on earth was in so desolate a condition. Under great distress and dejection of spirit, he gave vent to the anguish of his heart in cries and tears and supplications to the Judge of all the earth, who, he thought, heard and answered his cries with this intelligence, *First seek the kingdom of heaven and the righteousness thereof, and all these things that thou standest in need of shall be given unto thee.* He believed

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and therefore found his mind reduced into quietude and saw then the place to resort to and abide for a season, viz. to the house of William Allen in South Cliff, to whom he bound himself to learn his trade, which was that of a weaver.

Although he might seem here in a very low sphere of life, yet he found himself settled to his full content and his situation changed for the better. Beloved by his master, and loving him sincerely, they lived together in great harmony. When his master understood, he had any concern or desire to visit any meetings, he would not suffer his business to be any impediment, but would desire him to take his mare and go, without any uneasiness either about the mare or business. Here he spent some time in short excursions to visit his friends in their meetings, as he apprehended the call of duty thereto, and in a diligent and close attention to his outward employment at home; both out of conscientious regard to his duty, not as an eye servant but in singleness of heart, as toward God; and also out of gratitude to so kind a master, he thought himself obliged to exert himself to the utmost, to make him a recompence as far as in his power.

It may perhaps to some readers appear beside the point, to descend to such particulars in the early stages of this friend's life, but it seems directly coincident with my design, which the reader hath been apprized is to exemplify the excellent effects produced in the hearts and actions of men, by a steady adherence to that inward principle of light and grace, which the people

people called Quakers most surely believe in, and bore testimony to.

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His first journey of consequence was into Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire and Warwickshire; and he was careful to return home as soon as by a diligent discharge of his duty and service, he could with ease and peace of mind, to apply himself with industry to his outward occupation, for his support, and procuring a little surplus to supply his necessary expenses in his future travels: and thus from the 20th to the 28th year of his age, he divided his time between an industrious application to his secular employment, to provide things honest in the sight of all men, and the discharge of his duty in fulfilling his ministry, for the edification of his friends and others; during which time, he travelled through most parts of England four times, and twice through most parts of Wales.

About this time he entered into a married state, and settled in Bridlington, where he was made instrumental to the help and strengthening of many in their religious progress, especially amongst the youth, several of whom were called to the work of the ministry and grew therein, to be serviceable men in their time. He was likewise very helpful in the promoting a settlement of a salutary discipline, in the monthly meeting, where it had not been so zealously supported, as in some other places.

In about five years after his marriage, his wife was taken from him, and he was left a widower with three small children, and at the same time having had many years a prospect of duty to visit his friends in the American colonies, and the appointed time appearing to draw

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near, he laboured under much discouragement in consideration of his circumstances in the world, which were far from opulent*, and the charge of his helpless children; but providence so ordered it, that his youngest child was removed by death in less than a year, and his two other children were placed to his own satisfaction and that of his friends. Whereby seeing his little family and his affairs reputably settled, that the truth which he professed, and for the promotion whereof he thought it his duty to leave all his near connections and his native country, might receive no dishonour by any contingency in his private affairs

* Upon mentioning his outward circumstances, as being possessed of little substance, he explains his meaning by some reflections, expressive of that honest simplicity and integrity, conspicuous in the primitive professors of the principle of a divine light, in the following terms, ‘ I would not have any
‘ to misunderstand me, for as to my outward circumstances,
‘ I left no debt, neither was I in a way of going backward
‘ in the world; for ever after I received the knowledge of
‘ the truth, I could not see what pretence I could have to
‘ religion, if any should lose by me: I have often said, and
‘ been hearty in my intentions, *That rather than truth*
‘ *should suffer on that score, I would live upon bread*
‘ *and water, and wear very mean clothes, and work very*
‘ *hard, if I were able, and upon any mean, if but lawful cal-*
‘ *ling.* It hath been matter of wonder to me, how any
‘ that appear to carry any pretensions to religion, dare run
‘ such great ventures, sometimes beyond their own bottoms
‘ or abilities; which to me hath always appeared an un-
‘ warrantable risk; and, as I apprehend, pride and osten-
‘ tation is much the occasion of it, which are much against
‘ truth, and men are no better for their greatness, for the
‘ more plain and the more humble we are, the more we re-
‘ semble humble Jesus, and the religion, which he laboured
‘ to inculcate. If any are lifted up, or aspire above their
‘ place, let them consider well the foregoing paragraph.’

fairs in his absence, he took leave of his friends at home, not without the natural emotions of sorrow and regret, and set forward on his journey to London, whence he proposed to embark in the 8th month, 1700, and sailing from thence in company with Thomas Thompson, Josiah Langdale and John Eltaugh, the 17th of the following month, after a tedious passage of sixteen weeks arrived in the river Patuxent in Maryland.

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He spent about two years and a half in this journey, in which time he visited the colonies generally where friends were settled, viz. Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, &c. to New England, and sundry parts twice over; after which he visited the islands of Bermudas and Barbadoes; from the latter he took shipping for Bristol, where he arrived in the 6th month called June, 1703.

In this journey his ministerial labours were eminently serviceable, acceptable and edifying, to the convincement of many, and confirmation of many more, particularly in the island of Nantucket, where, the whole meeting or greatest part were wonderfully affected by the power attending his ministry—sundry remarkable occurrences he met with in the course of his travels, which are related at large in his journal, to which I refer the reader, as a work profitable from his wise and instructive reflections, and agreeable from the variety of incidents and his plain yet pleasing manner of relating them. The narrative of his controversy with George Keith, hath already filled some pages of this volume; and in the course of his travels he met with other occasions of debate, especially in New-England,

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England, from the opposition of some professors of the religion of that country, to his doctrine, which he managed with so much wisdom, temper and modesty, as carried with them evident conviction of the truths he defended. In passing some of the great rivers and other waters in open boats, he and the company appeared oftener than once in great danger of losing their lives, through accidents, the badness, inconvenience or mismanagement of the boats, in most of which perils, he seems, under providence, to have been principally instrumental to the escape of himself and companions, by his exertions and presence of mind. An instance whereof, accompanied with sensible and edifying reflections, I think not impertinent to introduce here from his journal, in hopes it may engage the attention of some readers to profit thereby.

‘ In our imminent danger (saith he) I looked over
‘ my tender friends, and thought in my heart,
‘ what a pity it would be, if all these were drown-
‘ ed! yet the thought of my own drowning never
‘ entered my mind, until I was got over the river,
‘ which was a mercy to me, and a great means
‘ to keep out the disorder and confusion, which
‘ commonly attend sudden surprizes and frights,
‘ which also make many faint hearted, and al-
‘ most senseless.’

‘ On this occasion, as well as many others, I
‘ reflected that it is an excellent thing to be, as
‘ much as we can, always ready, and by fre-
‘ quent ruminating upon death, to live so as to
‘ be fit to die, that it may not cause so much
‘ surprize and consternation when it doth come:
‘ this is a great point of true wisdom, so to num-
‘ ber our days, as to consider our latter end.”

Whilst

Whilst he remained at home, he was exemplary in the diligent attendance of the meeting to which he belonged, as also the monthly and quarterly meetings; and visited many meetings abroad. After living in the state of a widower near seven years, he married again; but in a few years, he was deprived of his second wife. Both his wives were sober, religious women, fit help-mates in the best sense, ready to give him up, and to forward rather than obstruct him in the faithful performance of every religious service. During the time of his last marriage, he paid two religious visits, one to the northern, and the other to the southern counties of England. And afterwards repeated his visits to the same parts: in the year 1717, he visited the western counties as far as Cornwall: Ireland in 1722; and in the 3d month, 1731, he a second time embarked for America, and visited the meetings of his friends generally through the colonies on the Continent, which took him near two years to accomplish, returning home the 1st of 3d month, 1733.

He lived to a good old age, and when he was confined by the infirmities attendant on this stage of life, and his natural faculties somewhat impaired, he appeared more heavenly-minded to the last, and finished his course in this world, in a well grounded hope of the fruition of that happiness, which is prepared in the next for those who persevere to the end in well-doing. He died the 2d of the 4th month, 1753, in the 87th year of his age, and was buried in friends burying ground, at Kirby-moor-side.

Samuel

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Account of
Samuel
Bownas.

Samuel Bownas of Bridport, in Dorsetshire, who was also a very serviceable and well-approved minister of this society, died in the course of this year, and upon the very same day with the aforementioned friend. He was born in Westmorland, within the compass of great Strickland monthly meeting, about the year 1676. His father was taken away before he attained the capacity of knowing him, being only about a month old; but he was informed by those who knew him, that he was an honest zealous friend, and a considerable sufferer upon account of religion, both in the loss of his substance and liberty, the meeting being kept in his house, in some of the hottest time of persecution in the reign of king Charles II.

His mother, who was a religious woman, was very careful to train him up in sobriety, and to advise him to the fear of the Lord in his youth, but being in low circumstances, she put him apprentice to a blacksmith, when he was but about 13 years of age. He was first put out with his uncle, and afterwards to Samuel Parrat of Brigflats, an honest well minded friend, who treated him with affectionate kindness; yet notwithstanding his mother's tender care, and his master's example, he was as yet very indifferent about religion, and had very little sense thereof. On first days he frequented meetings, but received little other benefit thereby, than being prevented from falling into hurtful company, which indeed is a very great service to youth. In this time of inadvertency, he indulged himself in a latitude in conversation, for which he often met with remorse and inward reproof; not that he was tainted with any gross

gross vice, but was much given to jesting and witty turns to provoke mirth; whereby he gained the reputation of a witty, sensible young man; but the airiness of his discourse, in the hour of cool reflection was generally succeeded by a heavy heart under the conviction of divine grace.

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About the middle time of his apprenticeship, he met with an awakening reach. One first day morning a young woman preaching in their meeting, and Samuel fixing his eye upon her, she seemed to point at him, and uttered the following expressions with great energy, "A traditional Quaker! thou comest to meeting as thou went from it the last time, and goest from it, as thou camest to it; but art no better for thy coming: what wilt thou do in the end?" These words were so exactly adapted to his state at that time, that he conceived them to have been spoken to himself and was, as it were, smitten to the ground; and in the awakened language of his soul, poured out this secret ejaculation "Lord, what shall I do to help it?" when he heard, as if a voice spoke in his heart, "Look unto me, and I will help thee," which administered comfort to his soul.

Yet in his return home he was affected with anxiety and serious thoughtfulness to that degree that he could neither eat nor sleep as usual. The solidity of his conduct and the gravity of his countenance evidenced a great and sudden change in his mind and manners, his mirth was turned into mourning under that godly sorrow which produceth sincere repentance, so that several who observed him were apprehensive of his

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his danger of falling into a melancholy. But in this state of inward thoughtfulness and exercise of spirit on the most important of all subjects, the religion whereby he might please his Maker, and secure the happiness of his own soul, he found a solemnity over his mind, such as he had not known before. And now when he came to meeting he was neither drowsy as had been too customary with him, nor distracted by wandering cogitations; but in inward stillness, and true devotion of heart before God, was strengthened to worship him, according to his own requirings "in spirit and in truth." His soul was quickened by the word, which is quick and powerful, and his understanding experimentally opened into the meaning and application of the Scriptures, and the nature of true gospel ministry, which 'till then he appears to have been wholly ignorant of; so that he seemed to himself another man.

It was not long after his reformation, that he was called to the work of the ministry; but he began to reason within himself, that 'so sudden a change would hardly be borne;' and several of his companions being present in the meeting, who had been witnesses of the levity of his late conversation, and his faculty of creating and circulating mirth amongst them, they proved another cause of discouragement in his way: so that more than once, while he sat under the encreasing burden of the word, by the like reasoning he put it off. In consequence he fell under great distress of mind, fearing that he had by disobedience offended to that degree, that he should be cast off for ever; he sought solitude, to give vent to his sorrows in secret, remote from
the

observation of men; but the effects of his troubled mind, and of his tears, became visible on his countenance, which his master observing and sympathizing with him, kindly enquired the reason of his trouble, which he candidly discovered. Hereupon his master consoled him with the hope, that he would come under the like concern again, and advised him to give way thereto, which he accordingly did, to his great consolation and peace of mind.

He had at this time about three years of his apprenticeship to serve, during which he continued at times to appear in the ministry in a few words at home, but did not travel much abroad till the term of his servitude was expired. Having served his full time with fidelity and diligence, and in the last year conceiving a draught of duty to pay a religious visit to friends in Scotland, he set out in company with Isaac Alexander, beginning their journey on foot at Kendal and the adjacent meetings, they proceeded through part of Lancashire and Yorkshire; then visiting some parts of Cumberland, they went forward to Scotland, and accomplished their visit in about two months. In this journey Samuel thought his companion had very good service, but he himself was deeply proved with poverty of spirit, which appeared at the time hard to bear, being filled with anguish under the power of death and darkness, and all comfort hid from him; but when the cloud which covered his mind was blown over, he clearly saw the benefit of trials in different dispensations, for improvement in experience and for establishment in the root of a divine and spiritual ministry.

Many

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Many of these bright ministers of the northern counties were but in narrow circumstances as to earthly possessions, being raised up from the lower class of people, of which number this worthy friend was one. His late journey having well nigh consumed what little money he was master of, he returned home almost penniless; therefore the time of hay-harvest coming on, he applied himself to mowing and other harvest work, as a day labourer, for his present support; and to lay up a part of his earnings to put himself in proper condition for another journey, and for his expenses and accommodation therein; at the same time he attended such neighbouring meetings, as he felt an engagement to visit, going to one or another to the distance of 10 or 12 miles on foot, and returned back the same way to follow his labour. It was thus these disinterested men, after the apostolic practice, divided their time, disengaging themselves from the world, and all worldly engagements, when they apprehended the call of duty to go forth with the message of the gospel, and when discharged from the concern, to labour with their hands to supply their necessities, that they might not make the gospel chargeable or burdensome to those they ministered unto. In the succeeding autumn and winter of the year 1699, he visited several of the southern and western counties of England, and part of Wales, and in the succeeding year visited many meetings on the eastern side of England. In 1701, he visited Scotland a second time in company with Isaac Thompson, and after visiting the meetings of his friends in a general way, they came to Kelso in their return to England, and from thence to
Jedburgh

Jedburgh, a town where none of the people called Quakers resided, and where 'till this time, they were very little known, except as abusively represented by the preachers. When they came thither, they went to an inn, but the biggotted landlord refused them entertainment, their minister having endeavoured to paint out this people to his hearers, in the most hideous colours. They went to another inn, where they obtained admission, and after they had taken some refreshment, they went out into the street, and sat down at the market cross; but had not sitten long 'till they were taken into custody, and committed to prison. Soon after a messenger came from the provost to offer them their liberty on condition that they would depart the town without preaching, Samuel signified that they could make no such agreement, and wrote to the provost their reasons; but the people were so deterred from holding any communication with them, that it was very difficult to procure any messenger to carry the letter.

Next day [through the intervention of a country gentleman] they obtained their liberty, and it being market-day, and the town full of country people; after refreshing themselves at the inn, they went up to the market-cross, but finding no convenient room there, they removed to another eminency, near the highest part of the principal street; Samuel Bownas there preached to a crouded body of several hundreds of people; and being afterwards fervently concerned in prayer, while he was praying two men took him by the arms, and led him down the street, he in the mean time continuing his prayer

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prayer as they led him along, till it was finished. They conveyed him again to the prison door; but he pleaded against a second illegal imprisonment, that he should not willingly go thither again, without being first examined by a magistrate, and if it appeared he had broken any law, or committed any offence worthy of imprisonment, and they had a mittimus setting forth his crime, he would not refuse submission to legal authority; but without it, he would not go, except he was forced by violence, which he hoped they would not attempt. A soldier, who stood sentinel at the prison and overheard this plea, insisted that his countryman had spoken right, according to law and justice; “and therefore” (said he) “if you will take him before the provost for examination you may; but if not, touch him, who dare.” This laconic speech uttered with a determined air, had its effect, the officers went off, and left Samuel again at full liberty.

Samuel being elevated several steps above the attendant crowd, it furnished him with a favourable opportunity to give them a second exhortation, the people were very quiet and attentive, appeared respectful and well satisfied; and he, having discharged himself of what he conceived his duty, retired to the inn full of peace and consolation. In the evening some of the better sort of the inhabitants paid them a friendly visit, which was pretty long; for as they were very much strangers to the people and their principles, they were desirous to be informed, and spent some hours in religious conference, wherein Samuel was enabled to answer their objections,

jections, and satisfy their enquiries pretty fully. So they took their leave in a friendly and affectionate manner, at a late hour, seemingly pleased with the information which they had received.

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In the third month 1702 he embarked for America, and arrived in river Patuxent in Maryland, the latter end of 5th month following, and here almost immediately after, he received the challenge from G. Keith, which with his consequent imprisonment hath been related in course.* He visited the meetings of friends pretty generally through the fundry British colonies in North America, from Carolina to New England, which with the time he spent in confinement, took him upwards of four years, it being 10th month, 1706, when he landed at Portsmouth. His service was very considerable, and very acceptable to his friends there in a general way, and instrumental to bring over several to the society by conviction.

Having thus diligently employed his time from the expiration of his apprenticeship 'till the 30th year of his age, between his temporal and spiritual engagements, soon after his return from America he married a young woman in Somersetshire, and removed to reside with her there. His engagements in marriage and in business for the support of his family, did not divert his attention from that which he esteemed his principal engagement, a life of devotedness to the will of God, and promoting a religious life and religious dispositions among his friends and others.

See page 134, &c.

In

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In the summer 1708, he went over to Ireland, on a religious visit to friends of that nation, and in the intervening time between his landing at Cork, and the ensuing half-year's meeting in Dublin, he visited the meetings generally through the nation, and after the half-year's meeting, took shipping at Cork, and landed at Minehead, after an absence of more than 18 weeks.

After his return from this journey, he seems to have been for some time released from distant travels, but was diligent in his outward occupation, and in visiting the neighbouring meetings, which were pretty numerous. In 1715, he visited Cornwall. In 1719, sundry counties of England, and Scotland a third time. In 1726, he embarked for America again, and after a tedious voyage of eleven weeks landed at Hampton in Virginia, whence he proceeded through the colonies to New England and back again, having visited most of the meetings of his friends through all the provinces, and sundry of them several times over, and finished his service where he began it, at Hampton; from which place he re-embarked for England, in company with Robert Jordan, thankful that he had been preserved in health, and supported with strength both of body and mind, to accomplish this long and tedious journey, through the very severe extremes of heat and cold, in about eighteen months.

In the latter part of the voyage, they met with a violent storm, such as the sailors said they had not known before, and it came upon them so suddenly, that they were not prepared for it; the water came in upon them and so encreased, that it was seven or eight feet deep in the hold.

It

It flaved the water casks fastened on the decks; whereby they lost above a tun and a half of water; washed some hogs over board, and destroyed a great number of their fowl. These losses were irreparable; the sails were torn like paper; the fore-top-mast and several of the yards, and the tiller of the rudder were broken, so that having no command of the ship, they seemed to be in the utmost danger, till the storm abated; and then it took them a full week to repair the damage, so as to be in a condition to make sail again; and the wind being unfavourable, the men, by reason of the losses sustained, were put to an allowance of bread and water.

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But in the midst of dangers nothing supports men in a calm presence of mind like true religion, and a consciousness of acting uprightly, in singleness of heart towards God. This friend amidst surrounding danger, confiding in that divine providence which is everywhere present, ruling by sea and land, who can command the winds to be still, and the heaving waves to subside, found comfort in meditating on his promises, to care for those who put their trust in him; and after some further trials of his faith and patience, he was preserved to land safely at Plymouth, and from thence reached his own house, the 2d of 8th month, 1728, having been absent about a year and ten months. Upon entering his own house he felt abundant consolation and peace of mind, in reward of his fidelity in the discharge of duty, through all attendant discouragements and difficulties.

He staid pretty much at and about home till the year 1740, when he visited his friends in various counties in England, and paid a second

CHAP. VIII. visit to those in Ireland. The years 1746, 47, 48, and 1749, he spent mostly in travelling in different quarters of the nation. And after this it doth not appear that he travelled any long journies, the infirmities of age incapacitating him; but was very diligent in attending meetings both at home and in the neighbourhood for twenty or thirty miles round, as long as his health and strength continued, his ministry continuing lively and powerful to the last, to the edification and comfort of those who heard it.

1747.
Case of
Travel
Fuller.

Travel Fuller, of Swafham in Norfolk, being prosecuted for Easter offerings in the Ecclesiastical court, at the suit of Robert Say, priest of that parish; a prohibition was obtained and the cause being removed into the Temporal court, an hearing was had thereon at the Lent assizes at Thetford in Norfolk, in the 1st month, 1747, when the following state of the case was agreed to by the counsel on both sides, and submitted to the judgment of the court, viz.

That within the parish of Swafham there is, and for all the time whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary, there hath been a certain custom, that every married man inhabiting and residing within the said parish of Swafham, with his wife being respectively of the age of sixteen years or older, hath paid, and hath used and been accustomed to pay for himself and his wife to the vicar of the parish of Swafham aforesaid, for the time being, yearly at the feast of Easter, or so soon after as the same hath been demanded, four pence as for or in the name of Easter offerings. That at Easter, 1745, and long before, the plaintiff and his then and now wife were and now are Quakers.

ers. That neither the plaintiff or his said wife ever went to the church of Swafham, or ever received the sacrament or communion with or from the defendant, nor did the plaintiff or his said wife ever participate of or personally attend upon any of the offices of the church.

C H A P.
VIII.

1747.

Upon the whole it is submitted to the court, whether the defendant is intitled to a writ of consultation or not?

The Case of Travel Fuller, sued in the Bishop's Court for Easter Offerings.

The said Fuller, coming to live in the parish of Swafham in the county of Norfolk, about three months since, before the time called Easter, in the year 1745, Robert Say, vicar of the said parish, did soon after the said time demand of Fuller four pence, as an Easter offering due from him and his wife at Easter, which Fuller refusing to pay, Say libelled him in the court of the bishop of Norwich. Whereupon Fuller in the term called 'Trinity term, 1746, applied to the court of Common Pleas for a prohibition, upon a suggestion that Easter offerings are not due, but where there are particular customs warranting the payment of them, and whether there was such a custom in the parish of Swafham, the Sipritual courts had no right to try. And on this foundation the court granted a prohibition; but at the same time, at the instance of Say's counsel the court obliged Fuller to declare in prohibition within a limited time,*

* This was a step never before taken by any parson in the case of Easter offerings.

CHAP. which he accordingly did. And to such de-
 VIII. claration Say pleaded that within the parish
 1747. of Swafham, there was a certain custom used,
 that every married man inhabiting and residing
 in the said parish of Swafham with his wife,
 they being both sixteen years and older, hath used,
 been accustomed and ought to pay for himself
 and his wife to the vicar yearly at the feast of
 Easter, four pence as for and in the name of
 Easter offering. That Fuller at Easter, 1745,
 and for a long space of time then last past, was
 and still is an inhabitant in the said parish with
 his then and now wife, and that they were at
 the feast of Easter of the age of sixteen and older,
 and that Say having been vicar of the said parish
 for more than a year past, there was due to him
 four pence from the said Fuller.

Fuller disputed the custom, and thereupon
 issue was joined, which issue was tried before
 Sir Thomas Abney, the 26th of the 1st month
 (called March) 1747, at the assizes held at
 Thetford for the county of Norfolk.

Fuller had for his counsel, counsellors Pont,
 Malon and Potter, and serjeant Leeds, all
 which except counsellor Pont, had been several
 times attended by one or more of the friends ap-
 pointed by the meeting on this affair; and once
 on a general consultation of the said counsel;
 and at Thetford before the trial came on they
 were again all applied to by Edmund Peckover
 and Richard How, who then also waited on
 counsellor Pont.

It was then agreed, that in case the custom
 should be proved, endeavours should be used to
 obtain a special verdict, that so the judgment of
 all the judges might be had; but that could not
 be

be, though the custom was so fully proved that Fuller's counsel did not think fit to examine any of the witnesses that were provided; as the judge desired they would not, but save the time of the court.

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1747.

The reason the judge assigned against a special verdict was that it would be attended with an hundred pounds extraordinary expence; but said he was willing it should be made a case, and referred for the judgment of the court of Common Pleas. As a question had arisen whether the custom was good or not, and whether Fuller was liable to pay the demand, as his counsel insisted that Easter offerings were due and payable to the vicar for officiating at the sacrament, and, that Fuller never partook or attended at any of the offices of the Church.

It was hereupon agreed by the counsel on both sides that a verdict should be given for the plaintiff, and the matter objected on behalf of the defendant should be reserved for the determination of the court of Common Pleas. Whereupon a verdict was given and the following order and case agreed upon.

“ It is ordered by the consent of the parties
“ their counsel and attorneys that the verdict
“ now given in this cause for the defendant, shall
“ stand as a security to him, and that the mat-
“ ter in law in this cause be referred for the opi-
“ nion of the court of Common Pleas, whom
“ the said parties their counsel and attorneys
“ shall attend and if the opinion of the said
“ court shall be for the plaintiff, then the de-
“ fendant shall not proceed on the said verdict,
“ but shall pay the plaintiff or his attorney his
“ costs of this suit, to be taxed by the prothono-
“ tary ;

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VIII.

1747.

“ tary; and if the opinion of the said court of
“ Common Pleas shall be for the defendant,
“ then the said defendant may proceed on the
“ verdict notwithstanding this order: and it is
“ further agreed by the like consent that the
“ postea shall remain in the hands of the associ-
“ ate, and not be returned without the order of
“ the said court of Common Pleas, and that
“ order shall be made a rule of his majesty’s
“ court of Common Pleas.

“ By the court,

“ Rash, Associate.”

In pursuance of this order the following case was stated and agreed by counsel on both sides.

“ That within the parish of Swafham, there
“ is and for all the time whereof, the memory
“ of man is not to the contrary, there hath
“ been a certain custom that every married
“ man inhabiting and residing within the said
“ parish of Swafham with his wife, such mar-
“ ried man and his wife, being respectively of
“ the age of sixteen years or older, hath paid
“ and hath used and been accustomed to pay
“ for himself and his wife, to the vicar of
“ Swafham, yearly at Easter four pence, for
“ and in the name of Easter offerings. That at
“ Easter, 1745, and long before, the plaintiff and
“ his wife were and now are Quakers, residing
“ in the parish of Swafham, and respectively
“ sixteen years of age. That neither the plain-
“ tiff nor his said wife ever went to the church
“ of Swafham, and never received the sacra-
“ ment or communion with or from the defen-
“ dant, nor did the plaintiff or his said wife
“ ever

“ ever participate of or personally attend upon c H A P.
 “ any of the offices of the church.” VIII.

On the whole whereof it was submitted to 1747.
 the court whether the defendant is intitled to a
 writ of consultation on this case or not.

Signed, Edward Leeds for the plaintiff,
 H. Partridge for the defendant.

N. B. Serjeant Prime refused to sign the
 cause on behalf of the defendant, because he
 disapproved it, thinking it much to his client's
 prejudice.

After this, serjeant Leeds, serjeant Skinner,
 serjeant Willis, serjeant Bootle, serjeant Draper,
 were attended by Fuller's attorney, and one
 or more of the friends appointed, to advise on
 the affair, and it was agreed that serjeant Leeds
 should have the first argument, serjeant Skinner
 the second, and either Willis or Bootle the
 third, provided there should be so many; but
 as the case was new and of great consequence,
 the court of Common Pleas, gave the counsel
 time to prepare until the term called Michael-
 mas term: and then it was several times ad-
 journed, occasioned by the indisposition or ab-
 sence of one or other of the judges, but on the
 sixteenth of the 9th month, 1747, at the court
 of Common Pleas all the four judges being
 present, viz.

Sir John Willis,
 Sir Thomas Abney,
 Sir Thomas Burnett,
 Sir Thomas Burch,

This affair came on with serjeant Leeds ar-
 gument on behalf of the plaintiff Fuller; he be-
 gan

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1747.

gan with a recital of the previous proceedings, then very pertinently took notice of the provision the legislature had made for the easy recovery of these small demands from Quakers by justices warrant, of which provision he concluded the defendant could not be ignorant, no more than of the Quakers conscientious scruple to pay them, and yet the defendant had chosen the expensive and vexatious method of proceeding in the Ecclesiastical court.

He cited many authorities to prove that offerings in general were for many of the earliest ages of christianity the only provision for the maintenance of the ministers, and all other the necessities of the church, and that Easter offerings in particular were given some hundred years before the establishment of tithes, which was not till about the eighth century.

That Easter offerings were a gratification, compensation or fee given the minister for, or on account of his labour in administering the communion, or for or on account of the holy loaf to be used at the communion.

That it was impossible Easter offerings should be a composition for, or any ways relate to personal tithes, as those offerings were used to be given many hundred years before the establishment of any tithes, of which personal tithes were the last and least general.

That the offerings which have remained since the reformation, have been for marriages, churching of women, christenings, burials and for the sacrament.

He cited divers authorities in tried cases, wherein when the office not being performed, the offering had been adjudged not to be payable

able. And urged, that Easter offerings were of the same nature with those several other offerings, and that with regard to the plaintiff and his wife, it appeared in the case that the defendant had done nothing for them whereby to intitle him to an Easter offering.

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As by the act of Toleration, Quakers were exempted from any obligation of conformity to the church or its ceremonies.

He copiously expatiated on the several heads before mentioned, having taken much pains himself, as well as that he had been greatly assisted by the many quotations and observations communicated by our friends Alexander Fothergill, William Hird, Josiah Forster, &c.

Serjeant Belfield on behalf of the defendant answered pretty briefly, endeavouring to narrow the whole affair into the single question, whether the Quakers were exempted or not? though he made some attempts and quoted some authorities to prove Easter offerings not to be sacramental, but a composition for personal tithes. He insisted strenuously that though by the act of the first of William and Mary, Quakers were exempted from the penalties of certain laws to which they were before liable, for their nonconformity to the church of England, yet they were by no means excused from the payment of tithes, or any other ecclesiastical dues.

Serjeant Leeds replied in support of what he had before advanced, adding some further reasons to prove that Easter offerings were not a composition for, nor had no relation to personal tithes, and particularly that those offerings were payable at the age of sixteen by persons of all ranks and degrees; whereas personal tithes were

C H A P. were payable by none before the age of twenty-
 VIII. one, and then not by the nobility, gentry, day-
 labourers and others.

1747.

He observed, that in the rubrick confirmed by parliament of the second of Edward VI. the curate was to provide bread and wine at his own cost, and the parishioners to contribute money. That in the next common prayer book the parson was discharged, and the church-wardens and ministers were directed to provide the bread and wine at the parish expence.

The judges then proceeded to deliver their opinions, lord chief justice Willis began with fine encomiums on the large body of people called Quakers, for their loyalty and usefulness; then took notice of serjeant Leeds learned dissertation on the original of Easter offerings; but said he should not meddle with things he did not well understand, but confine himself to deliver his opinion according to law, yet should defer his full determination to a further hearing, as he supposed there were more counsel to speak in the cause: but hitherto it appeared to him that Easter offerings had for a long time been customarily paid as due to the clergy, and had been confirmed by several laws, and that by the act commonly called the act of Toleration, the payment of tithes and other ecclesiastical dues, was expressly continued and preserved by a special clause for that purpose, and that he could not find in any statute that any people whosoever were exempted: that the jury at Nisiprius had found that it had been customary for the inhabitants of Swafham to pay Easter offerings; that he did not apprehend that these offerings were due to the vicar for actually administering the sacrament,
 but

but for his being ready to perform that office, and that a man's alledging that he never did participate, was not sufficient to excuse him from payment, for by the same rule he might plead an exemption from the tithes because he never went to hear the parson. That on the whole his present opinion was to grant a consultation, but he should attend to what might be advanced in the future arguments, intimating however to the counsel that they should confine themselves to matters of law only.

The other judges all declared their concurrence with the lord chief justice.

Judge Burnett observed, that when the legislature exempted Dissenters from penalties by the act of Toleration, they took care to preserve the established church and the rights of its clergy.

Judge Burch said he should be glad to hear the case further argued, but it would then be necessary for the counsel to shew that the Quakers were exempted by statute law from the payment of Easter offerings to the clergy.

After this serjeant Skinner having been applied to, he declared it was his opinion that further arguments would be fruitless considering how far the court had declared itself and how much they had narrowed up the counsel.

The meeting for sufferings on deliberate consideration agreed that the friends appointed to attend the affair might let the court know, that we would give the court no further trouble but rely on what had been already advanced, which was done accordingly.

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1747.

And

CHAP. And on the 28th of 9th month, being the
 VIII. last day of term the court proceeded to final
 1747. judgment, which

The lord chief justice Willis introduced with a speech wherein he intimated that he had before given his opinion, though in regard to a worthy set of men called Quakers, he had consented to a further hearing, which however they did not desire, but did as they do in all other instances, act as a people of a pacific temper, always submitting to the laws of their country.

He then recited the previous proceedings, particularly at the assizes of Norfolk, where the jury had found the custom, but could not determine the law; and that it was therefore referred to the court of Common Pleas for their opinion, whether the custom was reasonable and legal as to the Quakers.

He then repeated great part of what he had said at the hearing, and added,

That he thought the instance of marriage no parallel, for that a man was at liberty whether he would take the benefit of marriage, but that all were obliged to communicate until dispensed with, and still were obliged to pay, that never having been dispensed with, particular care having been taken in the act of Toleration, that the Dissenter should not be profited, nor the minister prejudiced, he then added that the verdict must stand, and the plaintiff have leave to enter judgment thereon and avoid a consultation.

1756. Peter Andrews from New Jersey, in the
 Account of the course of a religious visit, died in the city of
 Peter An- Norwich this year; of whom friends in said
 drews. place testified that his memory was very precious to them; and that few friends who travelled
 this

this nation (England) had been more approved, C H A P. VIII.
 or had more general service in so short a space
 of time. 1756.

In the testimonies given forth concerning him, we find little or no account of the forepart of his life. It having pleased the Lord to bestow on him a gift in the ministry, he was faithful thereto, and made helpful to many. His engagements in the exercise hereof, occasioned him to be much from home, yet his regard to his family was becoming, both as an husband and father; it was his frequent practice to sit down with them to wait upon the Lord, and we believe his faithfulness therein was of considerable service.

In the year 1755 he obtained a certificate from the monthly meeting of Burlington, in New Jersey, to visit friends in England, and having settled his temporal affairs, he embarked the 29th of 4th month, same year, and landed in the south of England, in the 6th month following. He proceeded immediately to London, where he had very good service. From thence he went directly to York, being desirous to be at the Quarterly Meeting for that county; at the opening of which in the meeting of ministers and elders he had a very weighty opportunity in ministry; but in the succeeding meetings for worship was mostly silent. In the meetings for discipline he was divinely led to set forth the nature, good end and tendency of the same, and very zealously pressed the keeping them up in the same wisdom and power, in which they were first established, evidently setting forth, that they proceeded from that which gathered
 our

CHAPTER VIII. our forefathers to be as a peculiar people unto God.

1756

From York he travelled through many parts of the north of England, and had meetings in divers places, several of which were very large; yet he was often led to famish the too eager desire after words, being often in these great meetings totally silent, which though a great disappointment to many for the present, yet there afterwards appeared a signal service in it. He arrived at Norwich in the 11th month, where he was made instrumental in a very particular manner to the help and furtherance of some, whom it hath pleased the Lord to visit with a fresh visitation of his love. From Norwich he returned to London, visiting many meetings in his way thither. He remained in this latter city a few weeks, being exceeding ill, yet was at most of the meetings there, and was very serviceable in affairs particularly relating to the society in Pennsylvania, at that time. From London he went back to Essex, and through several other counties to Bristol; his indisposition still continuing, but it did not hinder him from travelling or attending meetings. From Bristol he passed through some parts of Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Oxfordshire, and got to the yearly meeting in London, in 6th month, 1756, and although his illness continued upon him, he was enabled to bear several living testimonies, in the demonstration of the spirit and of power. From London he came down to the yearly meetings at Colchester and Woodbridge, at the latter of which, at the last public opportunity which he had, he was strengthened to bear a large, powerful and affecting testimony, to the tendering of many hearts,

hearts, whose states were so effectually spoken C H A P.
 to, as that it may be fitly compared to the ex- VIII.
 cellency and glorious situation which the psalm-
 ist described, when he says, “ How good and
 “ how pleasant a thing is it for brethren to
 “ dwell together in unity ! it is like the precious
 “ ointment upon the head, that ran down upon
 “ the beard, even Aaron’s beard, that went
 “ down to the skirts of his garments. As the
 “ dew of Hermon, and as the dew that descend-
 “ ed upon the mountains of Zion ; for there
 “ the Lord commanded the blessing, even life
 “ for evermore,” Psalm. cxxxiii. 1, 2, 3.

1756.

It was indeed a remarkable season, in which he
 was wonderfully led to set forth the progressive
 steps the Almighty was pleased to make use of,
 in appearing to Gideon, confirming him in the
 certainty of his requirings, condescending to grant
 his requests in a very peculiar manner, and sealing
 them with his presence, and giving him victory
 over his enemies, as he was faithful to follow
 the blessed author, that pointed out the begin-
 ning as well as finishing that great work to
 which he was called. This memorable service,
 there is reason to believe, was of great use, and
 long remembered by many present.

He continued very weak in body all the time
 of his stay at Woodbridge, being about five
 days, and no persuasions could prevail upon
 him to continue there, being very desirous to
 see friends of Norwich again, having said, “ he
 “ thought he could willingly die with them.”
 Soon after he got thither, he took to his bed ;
 and to several friends who visited him, he ex-
 pressed, “ that he was satisfied he was in his
 “ place, in giving up to follow the requirings of
 “ the

C H A P. " the Lord, in leaving his outward habitation,
 VIII. " and those near blessings of a most tender af-
 1756. " fectionate wife, and dutiful children." The
 severity of his illness kept him mostly delirious,
 yet he was favoured with some clear intervals;
 in one of which, being in a sweet heavenly frame
 of mind, he broke out in the following fervent
 supplications, " Oh, this poor soul hath been
 " for many days on the brink of the pit of
 " distress; but thou, dear father, dost not
 " afflict thy children willingly, but for some great
 " and good cause, known only to thyself. Dear
 " Father! suffer not thy children ever to de-
 " spair of thy mercies, but that we may be
 " helpful, as much as may be in our power, to
 " one another, in all such times of trouble.
 " Dearest Father, thou hast been pleased to
 " open, and to favour with thy goodness: my
 " soul is thankful, and can say, thou art worthy
 " of glory and praise for evermore." He conti-
 nued to the 13th of 7th month, 1756, and then
 departed this life, and no doubt rests with the
 spirits of the just made perfect, in those glorious
 mansions prepared for all who faithfully perse-
 vere to the end. He died at the age of 49
 years, having been about fourteen years a mi-
 nister.

1758. On the 26th of 1st month, 1758, died in Lon-
 Account of don, in the course of a religious visit, Abraham
 Abraham Farrington of New Jersey, in America. He was
 Farrington. born in Buck's county, in the province of Pen-
 sylvania, of parents professing the truth, as held
 by this people. His father died when he was
 an infant, soon after which his mother married
 out of the society, which exposed him to a very
 irregular education. At ten years old he was
 put

put apprentice, where he suffered much bodily hardship, and very great danger to his better part, during a servitude of eleven years; yet the good hand of the Almighty was with him for his protection and preservation. He for some time took great delight in reading the bible; and though fond of youthful vanities, yet he was careful every night to repeat those forms of prayer which he had learned, 'till he grew afraid to say them any more, and seemed like one abandoned by God for several years. When he served out his time, he became a resident in the house of one of this society. The family were very exemplary in their conduct, and treated him with great kindness. He thought them the best people he was ever acquainted with, careful of their words and actions, yet cheerful and pleasant in their demeanour, so that he thought he must become a Quaker. Here we have a striking instance of the efficacy of the silent preaching of a good example. Soon after his forming this resolution, at a meeting of this people, a friend preached with much divine power, reaching the witness in his conscience, and speaking intelligibly to the state of his mind; but, too much after the manner of the world, he gave that praise to the creature, which was due only to the Creator, thinking within himself, "This is a brave man, he preaches well; I wish I lived near him, that I might go to hear him every first day." But he was little attentive what this preaching directed him to, Christ in himself, the true teacher. Afterwards he frequently attended the meetings of friends, and became very conversant in their writings. One of these meetings was attended

C H A P.
VIII.
1758.

C H A P. by Thomas Wilfon and James Dickenson, by
 VI. whose ministry, his state was so plainly spoken
 1753. to, as effectually to shew him how the account
 stood between God and his soul, and abiding under the divine power, in the Lord's time he came to witness the work of sanctification to be carried on; and when fully fitted thereto, was called to bear a public testimony to others of what God had done for his soul.

He often travelled abroad on the American continent in the service of truth, much to the satisfaction of those whom he visited. At times his outward circumstances were difficult, whereby an opportunity was afforded him to shew an example of christian resignation; and to see its effects in divers providential assistances.

In the year 1756 he obtained a certificate from the monthly meeting of Burlington, in New Jersey, of which he was a member, to visit friends in Great Britain, for which he felt a concern on his mind for upwards of ten years. After a voyage of four weeks, he landed in Dublin, and visited the meetings of friends throughout the kingdom of Ireland, faithfully labouring to strengthen the brethren, and assist in building up the waste places in Zion. His service there was weighty and truly acceptable. From thence he came over to England, visited many of the northern parts, and thence came up to the yearly meeting in London. He afterwards visited many other parts of the nation to the comfort and edification of friends, and returned to London, about the close of the year 1757. Having travelled with great diligence, and laboured with fervency, his health was impaired, yet he attended meetings 'till his disorder so increased

creased as to render him incapable of further public service.

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VIII.

1758.

His conversation was innocently cheerful, yet grave and instructive; he was a man of a weighty spirit, and valiant for the cause of truth; a sharp reprover of libertine professors, but tender to the humble and contrite ones; strong in judgment, sound in doctrine, deep in divine things; often in a clear and lively manner, explaining the hidden mysteries wrapt up in the sayings of Christ, the prophets and apostles; and it may be truly said, he was a scribe well instructed unto the kingdom, bringing forth out of his treasure things new and old.

His ministry was in plainness of speech, and attended with divine authority, reaching the witness of God in man, and to the habitation of the mourners in Zion; frequently pointing out, in a lively manner, the paths of the exercised travellers, and the steps of heavenly pilgrims, by which he was made helpful to such as were seeking the true rest, which the Lord has prepared for those who love him.

His distemper encreasing, he was confined to his bed, at the house of Thomas Jackson, in Devonshire Square, where all necessary care was taken of him. During his illness he was very tender in his spirit, and remarkably patient. He uttered many heavenly expressions and several times said, he apprehended his time in this world would be but short; and seemed fully resigned to quit this mortal state, having an evidence, that he should be clothed with immortality and be united to the heavenly host.

C H A P.
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1758.

He had been frequently heard to say, in time of health, that he thought he should lay down his body in this nation, and see his friends in America no more.

He departed this life like a lamb, without sigh or groan, as one falling into a deep sleep, at the age of sixty six years. His body was carried to Devonshire house, where a large and solemn meeting was held; from thence to friends burying ground at Bunhill-fields, accompanied by a large concourse of people, and there interred among the remains of many of our primitive worthies.

1758.
Case of
Daniel
Hollis.

Daniel Hollis, an ancient friend of Whippingham parish in the Isle of Wight, died in this year a prisoner in Winchester jail. In the year 1708, he was prosecuted in the ecclesiastical court, by the church wardens so called, for a few shillings charged on him in their rate, for non-payment whereof, he was, in the year 1709, committed to Winchester jail, where he remained a prisoner until discharged by a general act of grace. In about 50 years there had been taken from him on account of tithes and offerings by warrants of distress; corn, hay, cattle, &c. to above the value of 700*l*. whereof about 140 was more than the total amount of all the original demands. It had been customary for constables before the year 1757, to distrain considerably more than the sum claimed for tithe, and the charges allowed by law amounted to, which additional money the parson used to take for his pretended extra expenses; but William James, constable of the East Medine in the said island, who distrained for tithes in the year 1756, refusing to distrain any more for the parson, than what

what the justices had adjudged to be due to him, and the charges allowed by law, with which John Gilbert, the old rector of the parish of Whippingham, not being satisfied, he brought an action against the said constable for what he demanded beyond the tithes and legal charges, in which suit the parish being cast, was obliged to pay the constables cost.

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1758.

In the year 1758, the said John Gilbert preferred a bill in the court of Exchequer, against Daniel Hollis, for tithes for one year to Michaelmas, so called, 1757, and obtaining an attachment, the son of the priest, being an attorney, together with a sheriff's officer, went to the house of the said Daniel Hollis: Daniel, by reason of his great age, was become so feeble as to be scarce able to help himself. They violently pulled him from his bed, and dragged him down stairs, whereby he was bruised; they then left him in the house. But afterwards, viz. on or about the 1st of 11th month, in the same year, he was taken out of his house and conveyed to Winchester jail, where he was at first confined in a public thoroughfare-room, very incommodious to him and his daughter, who attended him; but by the favourable influence of a justice of the peace, who had been his landlord, he was in a few days removed into a more commodious room, in which he was daily fed from the said justice's table. After he had been a prisoner about a month, a supersedeas was obtained from the court for his discharge; but when it came to the prison, he was so ill with the bruise he received when dragged down stairs, and by increase of his weakness, that he was not fit to be removed, and desired those
about

CHAP. about him not to attempt it. And to one, who
 VIII. offered him the use of a chariot, to carry him to
 1758 Southampton, he said he had a shorter passage,
 and should be soon at his journey's end, request-
 ing he might not be disturbed, he said he was
 very easy, and having forgiven his prosecutor,
 he in a tender resigned frame of mind, departed
 this life in prison the 11th of 12th month, 1758
 aged about 97 years. His corps was as he de-
 fired, interred in friends burial ground at New-
 port, in the Isle of Wight.

1760. On the 15th of 5th month, this year, died
 Account of William Pitts of Southwark. In his young
 years he was visited with a call of divine grace,
 and by adhering thereto and submitting to its
 operations, he became convinced of the essen-
 tial doctrines of christianity, as professed by this
 people. In his minority he was educated by a
 priest, under whose tuition he attained a confi-
 derable knowledge in several of the learned
 languages; yet the tender scruples which were
 raised in his mind, under the clear conviction
 of the impropriety of the needless ceremonies
 and salutations in which he had been educated,
 exposed him to many sufferings from his father,
 whose unkind treatment he endured with much
 patience and fortitude. This tended much to
 his growth and advancement in religious expe-
 rience and preparation for further service.

We find no particular account of the time of
 his joining this religious society; but that after
 much conflict of mind for three years, from the
 importance of the weighty service, he came
 forth in the work of the ministry in the year
 1738. His service herein through the remain-
 ing part of his life was very great, his heart be-
 ing

ing fully given up to do whatever his hands might find to do, as was evident from his own expressions to some friends who visited him in his illness, whom he encouraged to faithfulness, saying, "that for the last twenty years, he had never omitted one service which had appeared to be his duty, and he had now the comfort and satisfaction thereof," or words to that effect; and his talents and qualifications were employed to the glory of the Giver.

In the fourth month, 1760, he set out to visit friends in Buckinghamshire and some parts adjacent, but being much indisposed, he returned homewards, and was suddenly taken very ill at a friend's house at Uxbridge, during which he uttered the following expressions, "O my Father, my Father! be pleased to be with me in my affliction," and said he believed, "that his time in this world would be short, and that he should die of his present illness, but that he was resigned to the will of providence, for he coveted not length of days, and was easy in body and mind." Being asked how he did, he said, "I am very weak in body, but I have a great Physician in heaven, who is merciful to me in this illness." At another time he said, "if it pleased God, he had rather die than live, unless he had any further service for him to do," and he could rejoice saying, "O death, where is thy sting? O grave where is thy victory?—the sting of death is sin and the strength of sin is the law; but thanks be to God who giveth us the victory." Many friends from London and elsewhere went to visit him, which he took very kindly, and to one of them he expressed himself in the following manner, "I never coveted

" riches

C H A P.
VIII.
1760.

C H A P. " riches nor power ; and indeed if I had obtained
 VIII. " them, what could they, or all the friendships
 1760. " of the world do for me now? Nothing but
 " the testimony of a pure conscience and the in-
 " ward sense of divine favour, can comfort my
 " soul in these moments ; and thanks be to my
 " heavenly Father, I feel his supporting arm
 " underneath, and it is a rest indeed, a joy
 " that overcomes all ; it makes this bed easy,
 " and enables me to bear calmly and without
 " complaint, the dispensations of his gracious
 " providence ; I wish for nothing to myself
 " otherwise than it is. I accept with satisfac-
 " tion and thanks the kindness of my friends ;
 " in compliance with their request, and think-
 " ing it my duty to do what may be in my
 " power, I take the medicines prescribed, which,
 " though it may not seem meet to providence
 " in his wisdom, to render instrumental in the
 " restoration of health ; yet through his blef-
 " sing, they have so far succeeded, as to remove
 " the sense of acute pain. To be thoughtful of
 " and prepare for this trying time, have I fre-
 " quently and earnestly exhorted others ; not
 " without considering and knowing the many
 " and strong temptations of this world, which
 " however, as we are obedient to the spirit of
 " Christ, we shall be enabled to overcome ;
 " that in the conclusion they might have this
 " answer of peace, this divine consolation of
 " mind ; and it always appeared best to me, to
 " do this in great love and gentleness, so that
 " I might persuade not force them to Christ.
 " When this time comes, it will be found hard
 " work, without any additional weight, to strug-
 " gle on a dying bed with the pangs of the
 " body.

“ body. But how much more to be lamented
 “ is the condition of those, whose consciences
 “ accuse them with having enriched themselves
 “ by oppressing the poor and helpless; and
 “ when in an unprepared state, after a life of
 “ rebellion and hardened in iniquity, such must
 “ feel the terrors of a guilty mind, added to
 “ the agonies of a perishing body.”

C H A P.
 VIII.
 1760.

A friend who went to visit him, the day before his death, asked him how he did; after a short pause he said, “I am waiting for my great change; O my Father, be pleased to be with me, and comfort me in my last moments.” The last words he was heard to speak, were these, “ There is a great God in heaven, who is Zion’s king, O Zion, O Zion, O thou great King of kings!” Soon after which he departed in great tranquillity and composure, aged about 51 years, having been a minister 22 years.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle produced rather a temporary suspension of arms than a solid peace; for though peace appeared for a season to be secured in Europe, hostilities between France and England were still carried on both in America and the East-Indies, which in a few years involved England in another long and troublesome war, which carried but a gloomy appearance at the beginning, the English receiving sundry defeats and disappointments; but afterward they were more successful and terminated the war with great advantage over their enemies. During the continuance thereof, and amidst a train of successes by sea and land, the king died suddenly in the 77th year of his age, and

Death of
 king
 George II.

CHAP. and 33d of his reign, October 25th 1760, much
 VIII. lamented by his subjects.

1760.

CHAP IX.

I R E L A N D.

Account of John Dobbs.—John Ashton.—George Rooke.—Affirmation-act made perpetual.—Address to the King.—Account of Mungo Bewley.—Mary Peisley.

CHAP.
IX.

1739.
Account of
John
Dobbs.

IN the year 1739, and the 80th of his age, died John Dobbs of Youghall, in the county of Cork, who although not engaged in the work of the ministry; yet his sincerity and self-denial, his peculiar sufferings, his steadfastness, and contempt of worldly possessions in comparison of peace of mind, appear to be too remarkable to be passed over unnoticed.

He was of a family of some account in the world, being the eldest son of Richard Dobbs near Carrickfergus, a counsellor at law, and a justice of peace of the county of Antrim, from whom as heir he was entitled to a considerable estate, of which he suffered himself to be deprived purely for the sake of religion. He possessed from an early age, a thoughtful and virtuous turn of mind. When he was about eleven years of age, his father in answer to an occasional

onal enquiry, signifying that he intended to educate him “for the clerical order and he did not know but Jonny might obtain a bishoprick.”

C H A P.
IX.

1739.

The child hearing this, says within himself, “It is a weighty matter to take the care of other men’s souls upon me, it is well, if I can look well after my own.”

He received an education in literature suitable to his rank in life, and the station he was designed for. After he had made a considerable proficiency in the Latin and Greek languages at school, he was removed to the university at Oxford, and applied himself to the study of physic. But being all along of a religious disposition, the loose conversation of his companions both at school and the university was irksome to him. When he was on his road to Oxford, he met with a discouraging observation from a person, with whom he casually fell into company at York, who remarked that there were many gentlemen, who were afraid of sending their sons thither, lest they should be corrupted; and he found there was too much ground for the observation; for when he came to Oxford, the profaneness of many of the students there, was quite disgusting to him. At first he put himself in the way of conversing with them, with a design to use his best endeavours to reform them, but soon found this to be labour lost; and being uneasy at his company here, he obtained liberty of his father to return home. Here also lying open to the company of the country gentry, their conduct and conversation became disagreeable to him, particularly as they were accustomed to indulge themselves in drinking too freely; wherefore he withdrew from their company, as thinking

CHAP. thinking their practice inconsistent with the moderation and temperance prescribed by the gospel.

IX.

1739.

Thus actuated by religious motives in circumspection and self-denial so to order his conversation in this life, as to obtain everlasting felicity in that which is to come, he conceived an aversion to an inordinate latitude in conduct, while innocence and integrity of life, was what he endeavoured after himself, and observed with satisfaction in others. This disposition drew him to look upon the people called Quakers in a favourable light, observing their chaste conversation coupled with fear. And his mother Dorothy Dobbs, having joined with those people, gave him an opportunity both to remark their circumspect walking, and to peruse several of their writings on religious subjects. But 'till the 19th year of his age, although he had an esteem for many of those he had knowledge of, yet he declined the thoughts of entering into their community, his father having threatened to turn any of his children out of doors, that should go to their meetings. John, at length, from the perusal of their writings, being impressed with a desire to hear their ministry; and Thomas Dockwra, a friend from England, having about this time appointed a meeting at Carrickfergus, John went thither, and was so effectually reached by his ministry, and convinced of the truth of his doctrine, that from this time he joined this society, and continued steadfast in community with them, through many severe trials.

For he, who had been a favourite of the family till now, upon his attaching himself to this despised people, found great alteration in their conduct

conduct toward him, especially in that of his father, who first endeavoured by persuasion and flattering promises to bring him off from them; but he who had chosen the profession of truth, as it appeared to him, upon the best motives and clearest conviction, durst not act contrary to the conviction of his conscience, on any worldly consideration. His father exasperated by his declining to comply with his desire, had recourse to rougher means, and treated him with great severity, keeping him a prisoner in his house, above half a year, in the years 1683, and 1684, during which confinement, at a certain time meeting him with his hat on, he beat him grievously on the head with his cane, to that degree, that he fell into a fever upon it; nor did he ever entirely get the better of the injury received thereby. His mother, who had been his constant friend and protectress under all his hardships, died while he was yet young. His father would not admit him into his presence; and now having none in the family to compassionate his case, or give him the least countenance, and seeing no likelihood of a reconciliation, he thought it best to leave his father's house, where his presence was disagreeable, and went to London, where he learned chymistry with Charles Marshall, and made a further progress in the study of physic, after which he returned to Ireland, and practised it with reputation, good success and great christian charity to the poor.

His father remained unreconciled to him to the last, and by his will disinherited him, leaving his estate of several hundreds per annum, to his younger son, and cut him off with 10*l.* per annum,

C H A P.
IX.
1739.

C H A P.

IX.

1739.

annum, during life, to keep him (as he expressed it) from starving, or relying on these seducing people. This pittance was but indifferently paid by his brother, to whose prodigality the income of the whole was inadequate, whereby he involved the estate; but his son, being a better œconomist, voluntarily doubled his uncle's annuity, and paid it punctually.

His integrity, his consistent and circumspect conversation gained him much respect and affection amongst his friends, by some of whom he was urged to have recourse to the law for the recovery of the family estate, as his birthright, and assistance offered him for that purpose. Whereupon he commenced proceedings at law; but not feeling that inward peace with Christ, which he preferred to all worldly possessions, in this first step of litigation, he put a stop to all further proceedings, and rather chose to confide in God without it.

He retained his integrity to the last period of a long life, in faithfulness toward God, and a blameless conversation among men. Having given up all that the world reckons valuable, to yield obedience to the discoveries of Christ in his own conscience; he was favoured in return with what all the world cannot purchase, solid peace of mind, and the internal testimony of an approving conscience, under the possession whereof, he little regarded how little noise the world made about him, being a man who declined popularity, and was more in substance than appearance. *Bonus esse maluit quam haberi.* He aimed not so much to appear a good man, as to be one. At the age of 80 he terminated a well spent life, and his last moments exhibited

ed an affecting instance of that serenity, thank-fulneſs and joy, wherewith the true chriſtian takes his final leave of this world, in full affurance of going to live for ever in a better.

This year, John Aſhton of Killconinmore, in the county of Tipperary, died in the 80th year of his age; a man, who, though not eminent for great and ſhining parts, was a bright and ſhining light in the country where he reſided; of great humility and fervour of ſpirit, for the promotion of piety; much beloved and eſteemed by his neighbours and friends.

He was born in Cheshire, and brought to Ireland when a child by his parents, who educated him according to the way of the church of England, of which he continued a member 'till near the 40th year of his age. Being deſirous of farther diſcoveries of the knowledge of God and way of ſalvation, he with his wife went to a meeting of friends at Birr, when both of them were convinced by the powerful and efficacious miniſtry of Thomas Wilſon; and were obedient to the manifeſtation of truth in their hearts. Coming out of the meeting they ſaid to each other, "The way of everlaſting happineſs has been clearly laid down before us, and we are reſolved to walk in it, come life or come death."

Not long after he was thrown into priſon, for his chriſtian teſtimony againſt tithes, where he was kept fix months, which he bore with exemplary patience and reſignation; and being always uſed to induſtry and an enemy to idleneſs, he learned to make gartering and laces, for his ſupport during his imprifonment.

When

C H A P.
IX.

1739.

1741.

Account of
John Aſh-
ton.

CHAP.
IX.
1741.

When at liberty he and his wife constantly attended the meeting at Birr twice a week, generally walking thither on foot, about seven miles of a very bad road, having a river to wade through both going and returning. In winter in crossing this river, they sometimes had the ice to break, and John frequently wept to see the blood on his wife's legs in coming through it.

This good man took great pains to get travelling friends to appoint meetings at his house; and then would ride several miles, often in the night in winter weather, to acquaint people of it; which labour of his was blessed, many coming to the meetings, and several being convinced thereat. In a little time a meeting was settled there, which soon grew larger than that of Birr, out of which it sprung.

At the time of his joining this society, he was but low in his worldly circumstances; but through industry and the blessing of heaven he grew rich, and did abundance of good, being singularly hospitable and charitable, ready to distribute, willing to communicate.

About the 62d year of his age, his mouth was opened in a public testimony for truth, in which he faithfully laboured for the stirring up the pure mind, and encouraging that which was good in all; and was zealously concerned against vanity and pride.

In the year 1733, he went to the yearly meeting at London, and from thence paid a religious visit to several meetings in different counties in England, as also to the meetings of friends in Scotland.

He

He was helpful and serviceable in visiting the families, throughout the extensive monthly meeting of which he was a member; his heart and house were always open to receive friends; he was a mourner with the afflicted, and full of compassion to the poor, by whom his death was greatly lamented.

C H A P.
IX.
1741.

This year, died George Rooke of Dublin. He was the son of Thomas Rooke of Boulton, in Cumberland. He had been educated in the church of England, but about the 20th year of his age, being convinced of the truth of the doctrine preached by John Greaves, a minister among the people called Quakers, he joined himself in society with them. About the 25th year of his age, his mouth was opened in public testimony; and he became engaged to travel abroad in the work of the ministry, zealously and cheerfully devoting his strength and youthful days, to the propagation of the gospel, and promotion of truth and righteousness in the earth. In the year 1679, he travelled on foot to Scotland on this account, accompanied by Peter Fearon. In the year 1681, he visited friends in all their meetings in Scotland a second time, and the same year came to Ireland, and visited most of the meetings of friends through the nation, as he did also in the year 1684. Some time after his return, visiting friends in Westmorland and Durham, he had a meeting at Stockton, where the mayor of the town sent one of his officers to bring George before him, and when he came tendered him the oaths of allegiance and supremacy: but because George for conscience-sake refused to swear, the mayor would have had him enter into bonds for his good behaviour, and to appear at the next Quarter Sessions. George told him,

1742.
Account of
George
Rooke.

CHAPTER " he was already bound to good behaviour."

IX.

1742

The mayor asking him whether he had been before a justice of peace, he answered, " No, " but I am bound by my principle to behave myself towards the king and all his subjects, as becomes a christian." But as George persisted to refuse to enter into bonds, the mayor committed him to Durham jail, where he continued till the Sessions, when he was again committed and kept prisoner about a month longer, because for conscience-sake he could not swear.

In the year 1685, he visited friends of Ireland a third time, and again in 1686, when he married and settled in Limerick. He continued to travel abroad in the exercise of his gift; and indeed his ministry appears to have been clear and convincing, even among strangers, of which an instance occurred in his travels through Wales, at a meeting at Haverfordwest, one of his hearers, who had a right of the presentation of a parish, was so far affected by his preaching as to make him an offer of it: but he was not one of those ministers, who seek for reward or support from men.

He continued to reside in Limerick, in the years 1689 and 1690, in the troublesome times of the wars between king William and king James, and during the first siege; but before the second siege, while James's army had possession of the city, he removed with his family to Cumberland, but notwithstanding these troubles, he still continued laborious and fervent in spirit, in visiting the meetings of friends, and in the year 1692, again visited the brethren in Scotland.

In

In the year 1693, he returned to Ireland, and settled in Dublin, where he continued to reside the remaining part of his life, during which time, he frequently visited friends of the three provinces; and sometimes those in England and Wales, and was frequently at the yearly meeting of London.

C H A P.
IX.
1742.

He was a very diligent attender of meetings of worship and discipline, until disabled by infirmity of body. He was a man of good understanding, though but little school learning; of a sweet temper; in conversation pleasant and affable; an affectionate husband and father; a tender and sympathising visitor of the sick: he was a diligent and faithful minister, and his labours were often crowned with success, to the conviction of several, and the edification and establishment of others. In the exercise of his gift he was clear, solid and lively, even to extreme old age; in prayer living, reverent, weighty and concise: in his deportment meek and humble, not elevated by his gifts and good services; far from being desirous of exercising lordship over God's heritage, frequently declaring, that he did not judge ministers to be of an order above other men, and that he and all others in the ministry ought willingly to refer their doctrine to the divine witness in the consciences of the hearers. He was a diligent reader of the holy scriptures, and in his preaching a faithful quoter of them: he retained his integrity, as well as understanding and memory to his end, and departed this life in the 91st year of his age, and about the 67th of his ministry.

CHAP.
IX.

1744.

This year, there being apprehensions of an intended invasion of England from France, friends drew up an address to the king signifying their fidelity and good affection to his person and government, which was as follows.

To George II. King of Great Britain and the Dominions thereunto belonging.

The humble Address of his Protestant subjects, the People called Quakers, in the kingdom of Ireland,

‘ We thy dutiful and peaceable subjects, with
‘ hearts truly sensible of the many blessings and
‘ privileges we enjoy under thy paternal care
‘ and protection, beg leave at this critical con-
‘ juncture (when thy dominions are threatened
‘ with an invasion in favour of a popish preten-
‘ der) to express our sincere and hearty abhor-
‘ rence of all plots and conspiracies against thy
‘ person and government.

‘ Duty, gratitude and interest unite to engage
‘ us in a firm attachment to thy royal person,
‘ and the protestant succession in thy illustrious
‘ house; and we are determined, by divine as-
‘ sistance, to continue unshaken in these senti-
‘ ments, and conformable to our known princi-
‘ ples to do the utmost in our power for promot-
‘ ing the peace and welfare of this nation.

‘ The kind indulgence granted us by the le-
‘ gislature in our religious scruples, the free ac-
‘ cess we have had to the several chief governors
‘ of this kingdom since thy accession to the
‘ throne, and the readiness shewn for our re-
‘ lief, whercof we retain the most grateful and
‘ lively

lively sense, lay us under additional obligations of duty and fidelity. C H A P.
IX.

‘ May the same divine providence, that defeated the attempts of the enemies of our constitution in the rebellion against thy royal father, and which had lately protected thee in imminent danger, preserve thee and thy royal family from the wicked designs of all your enemies, whether foreign or domestic. May the Almighty guide thy councils by his wisdom, and render them effectual for the re-establishment of peace and tranquillity, and grant thee a long and prosperous reign over us. May the British throne be always filled with one of thy royal offspring, to transmit the blessings we enjoy to future ages.’ 1744.

Signed in Dublin, in behalf of the said people, the 31st of the first month, called March, 1744.

The act of parliament for granting friends an affirmation in all, except criminal cases, and for qualifying for places under the government, and serving on juries, which was passed in the year 1736, was only temporary, and to expire at the end of the ensuing session of parliament, the present time was thought convenient to make early application for a renewal of the said act, without limitation of time, in the same manner as friends elsewhere enjoy it. Wherefore the friends who attended the last yearly meeting at London did there wait on the earl of Chesterfield, the lord lieutenant, requesting his advice and friendship in our intended solicitation, which he with great cheerfulness granted

1745.
Affirmation-act renewed.

CHAP. granted them, and on his arrival here encouraged friends to petition the House of Commons, this session, for such an act as aforesaid, which they accordingly did with good success, for it passed both houses, *nemine contradicente*, and obtained the royal assent.*

IX.
1746.
1747.
Account of
Mungo
Bewley.

This year died Mungo Bewley, son of Thomas and Margaret Bewley, of Woodhall in Cumberland, from whence he came over to this kingdom, and settled at Edenderry in the King's County. He was favoured in his youth with a tender visitation of the love of God, and manifested early a fervent zeal for divine worship in the following instance: among his papers was found one which he wrote during the time of his apprenticeship, requesting of his master either to have his work previously allotted to him, in order that he might make preparation against the time of the week-day meeting, or that he might be allowed when his apprenticeship expired to pay for so much time as he should have spent at meetings: and he grew and prospered in the saving knowledge of the truth accordingly, and not long after his coming over to Ireland, a dispensation of the gospel was committed unto him, whereof he became an eminent minister, freely devoting himself to spend and be spent for the promotion of piety in the earth, being diligent in the exercise of his gift both at home and abroad, having visited friends in the service of the gospel in England, Scotland, Wales, Holland and America.

He adorned his ministry by a grave and solid behaviour; he was also a man of good understanding,

* For the words of the Affirmation, see page 260 this vol.

standing, zealous in christian discipline, and serviceable in visiting the families of friends; a man of integrity and firmness, industrious in business, upright in his dealings, and careful in the religious education of his children; cheerful and edifying in conversation, compassionate and liberal to the afflicted; a nursing father to young travellers in the way to Zion, yet not hasty to lay hands suddenly on such as were more in shew than substance, being of a discerning spirit; and notwithstanding these good qualifications, he was very humble-minded with respect to himself.

CHAP.
IX.

1747.

He continued lively in the exercise of his gift to the last, finishing his christian course in the 70th year of his age, and about the 40th of his ministry.

In the year 1757, the society in general and friends of Ireland in particular met with a considerable loss in the sudden removal of a very eminent minister of the female sex, Mary the wife of Samuel Neale, formerly Mary Peisley.

1757.
Account of
Mary
Peisley.

She was born the 19th of 9th month, 1717, near Mountrath in the Queen's County, of parents who were members of this religious society.

In her early days she was a lover of gaiety and vanity; but being favoured with the visitation of divine love, she gave up to the heavenly vision, and was enabled to take up the cross to her natural propensities, and finally to obtain the victory over the temptations under which youth are too apt to fall, the vanity and pride of life.

From the time of this effectual visitation of Christ to her soul, few adhered with more steadiness

CHAP. IX. 1757. nefs to his guidance, nor endured a variety of probations with more patient resignation. Having received a gift in the ministry, she became a vessel of honour in the master's house; and being reverently, watchfully and lively exercised therein, she became a shining ornament in the church, and an useful member of the society where her lot was cast. Yet through religious fear, she was particularly careful of appearing too forward; so that her offerings were like fruit in its season, to the honour of the Lord and to the edification of his church. She was a diligent labourer in spirit for the subjection of self, and the prevalence of divine life; and as she was very careful to rise up in that life, so was she likewise to sit down in it. Her reverent solidity and patient waiting upon the Lord in meetings were very exemplary, striking the beholders with awful solemnity.

The equable tenor of her spirit and uniformity of her conduct in the common occurrences of life were truly edifying to those who were acquainted with her; her deportment being weighty, and her words few but fitly spoken, evidencing that her conversation was in heaven, and tending to draw the minds of others thitherward. She was often drawn forth in the pure love of God, to administer a word in due season in the families of friends, particularly to the youth. In the discipline of the church, her services were great; so that, though young in the ministry, she stood in the authority of truth as an elder, and as a pillar in the Lord's house, bearing the weight of opposition from perverse spirits, without giving way; the divine power being

being her shield, and the munition of rocks the habitation of her soul.

C H A P.
IX.

1757.

Under a lively concern for the welfare and honour of every part of the society, she was at times qualified to impart suitable counsel to her brethren and sisters engaged in the ministry and discipline, "That they might have a single eye " to the glory of God, to prefer his service before their own, and to get their days work " well done in the day-time." She freely gave herself up to spend and be spent, and to pass through various perils by sea and land. She twice visited the meetings of friends throughout the kingdom of Ireland; once those through England; and once visited friends on the continent of America; much to the satisfaction of the visited in those parts, as appears from the accounts received concerning her services.

Soon after her return from America, our dear friend Samuel Neale and she laid their intentions of marriage before the monthly meeting of Mountmelick, to which she belonged; after which she found a concern on her mind to join in a visit to the families of friends throughout that extensive monthly meeting. After she had performed this service, she returned home; and on the 17th day of 3d month 1757, on a fifth day of the week, she was married to our aforesaid friend in the meeting of Mountrath. Samuel appeared in a very lively testimony at the beginning of the meeting, and at the conclusion in fervent supplication. The evening before the day of their marriage, in a religious sitting at her mother's house, Samuel was concerned to speak of the benefit of laying hold of every opportunity of renewing our strength

CHAP. strength, as the only way to lay up treasure
 IX. against the day of trouble and disappointments
 1757. incident to this uncertain stage. On the evening of the marriage-day, in a like opportunity, Mary was led to describe how the Almighty formed the great works of creation in six days, which having finished, he appointed a sabbath-day of rest; and that there were present, who would in a short time cease from their labours, and enjoy the sabbath of rest. Thus remarkably did they speak to their own particular states.

On the night, of seventh day the 19th of the month, she was seized with a violent pain in her stomach; notwithstanding which she lay quiet and still in a retired awful frame of mind, which clearly manifested her triumph over death hell and the grave. About half an hour before her departure, her pain being taken away, she said; "I praise thy name, O my God, for this "favour;" after which she breathed shorter and shorter, and quietly departed without sigh or groan, like one falling into a sweet sleep, doubtless to enjoy that sabbath of rest, for which she so ardently longed.

On fifth day, the 24th of the month, her corps was taken to the meeting-house in Mount-rath, where a large concourse attended, many of whom had been present at her marriage on that day week. A solemn meeting was held on the occasion; many testimonies were borne in a lively manner, to the circumspect life, holy zeal, undaunted courage and faithful services of this eminent instrument in the Lord's hand, to publish his truth amongst the nations. At the conclusion

fion, her late dear companion kneeled down by the coffin that contained the remains of his most beloved earthly treasure, and prayed to God the Father in the demonstration of the spirit and baptizing power of the Son. At the grave he likewise bore a lively testimony to the people, another friend concluded the opportunity in prayer, when the body was committed to its original dust; the spirit having returned to God who gave it, to enjoy the reward of her well-spent life in the regions of eternal glory.

She died at the age of 39 years, having been a minister about 14 years.*

* The account of this valuable woman would doubtless have been much more fully given, had not my father been suddenly called from works to rewards. From the knowledge I had of my father's very great respect for her memory, I wished it to have been given very fully; I therefore applied to our dear friend Samuel Neale, for materials to supply the defects in the printed testimony, which he intended sending to me, when he likewise received a summons to enter into the joy of his Lord; whom he had for a long course of years served with fidelity; he died the 27th of 2d month, 1792.

John Gough, junior.

C H A P.

C H A P. X.

W E S T I N D I E S.

Some Convincement in the Island of Tortola.—Thomas Chalkley visits the Island and dies there.—The next Year John Cadwallader and John Estaugh visit it and die there.—Account of Thomas Chalkley.—Account of John Estaugh and John Cadwallader.

CHAP.
X.

IN the early times of this society, the islands in the West Indies were visited by some of their first ministers, whose love to mankind, and desire to promote their greatest interests, even those of immortality, and everlasting life, were strong enough to draw them through perils by sea, and perils by land, to publish the gospel of Jesus Christ, as the true light that enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, whereby several were convinced of the truth of their doctrine, and converted to righteousness, in Barbadoes, Jamaica, Antigua, &c. many of these continued steadfast in their principles, and in an humble, self-denying life, 'till their death. But profanity and dissipation of manners, having too much the ascendancy over the generality of the inhabitants of the islands, the discipline of the cross of Christ preached up and walked in by the

the faithful ministers and members amongst the people called Quakers, was too rigid or too contemptible for the people in general, and some of the descendants of friends in particular to submit to; and some families of this society having removed to England, their number is so greatly decreased, that few, if any of this profession, are now resident in these islands, and the visits thereto have become less frequent of later years than formerly.

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Yet about the year 1740, account was received of a conviction in some of the Virgin islands, particularly the island of Tortola, which by the following paragraph of the yearly epistle of that year, appears to have been the effect rather of internal conviction, than of instrumental or ministerial labour, viz. "It hath pleased the Lord by the insinuations of the divine light, to visit the inhabitants of some islands, where no settled meetings of friends have formerly been, to the bowing and tendering of some of their hearts, as in the first breaking forth, and morning of our day; and to incline them to assemble together, and silently wait in spirit and in truth upon the Lord, their Redeemer, the unerring teacher, who teacheth his people to profit, and leadeth them by the way that they should go."

1740.
Some Conviction
in Tortola.

Amongst others, who were here convinced of the inward principle of light and grace, and submitted to profess themselves of, and to pass under the contemptible denomination of Quakers, was John Pickering, governor of the island, who continued a faithful member of this community to his death; and after his decease his family removed to England.

The

CHAP. X. The report of this convincement reaching the ears of friends on the continent of America, and in Great Britain, the minds of some were engaged in gospel love to visit them, confirm and strengthen them in their pursuit after true religion and righteousness. Thomas Chalkley from Philadelphia was the first who went on this gospel errand, in the year 1741; and was the next year followed by John Cadwallader from Abingdon, and John Eltaugh from Haddonfield, Pennsylvania. These friends were received with gladness, and treated with affectionate kindness by those they went to visit, amongst whom their ministerial labours were very consolatory, strengthening and edifying; but this island seemed unfavourable to their constitutions; they all three laid down their lives there in peace, and in the best service, in which a man can be engaged.

1741. Account of Thomas Chalkley. Thomas Chalkley was born in the borough of Southwark, of honest and religious parents, who being of the people called Quakers, brought him up in the same society, and were very careful both by example and precept to train him up in the sobriety becoming his profession. This religious care in his education, through the divine blessing and assistance, had a good effect, as he was very early tinctured with a serious turn of thought and of behaviour, an abhorrence of profane and wicked expressions, insomuch that while he was yet a child, he could not forbear to reprove such boys as used ill language, and took the sacred name in vain, by putting them in mind of the third commandment, some of whom would receive his reproof in good part, and some with contempt and derision.

Yet he did not escape the temptation of indulging himself at times in playful diversions and levities incident to youth, by the world reckoned harmless; but (by the convictions of divine grace manifested to his understanding,) tending to divert and alienate the minds of youth from the due remembrance and awful regard of their Creator. Awakened by these convictions, he was reclaimed from such practices and pleasures, as he found were afterwards productive of painful sensations to his soul, and was enabled to bear the cross in christian patience and self denial in his youthful days. As he grew up to a state of maturity, and engaged in business, the cares of this world seemed like to embarrass his mind too much, and interrupt his progress in religious experience, whereby he lost that inward evidence of peace and divine approbation, which through obedience to conviction he had before enjoyed. This occasioned him great anxiety and a resolution to deny himself of the inordinate pursuit of the riches and honour of this world, rather than lose the favour of the Almighty. Being sensible that the pursuit of terrestrial acquisitions, which are lawful in themselves, and in some measure necessary, may be extended to an unlawful degree, and through want of watchfulness, may divert the mind from the steady following after the things that conduce to our future well-being; he was favoured with light to see the danger, and strengthened by divine grace to avoid it, to keep under the power of the cross, which mortified his affections to the world; and in a state of humility, and in obedience to the precept of Christ, to *seek first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness*, having faith

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1741.

CHAP. X. faith in his promise, *that all things, necessary for him, should be added.*

1741.

Being thus weaned from the love of the world, the love of the Father influenced his mind with greater degrees of strength, opened his understanding with clearer perceptions of his will, advanced his progress in the work of sanctification, and favoured him with abundant consolation of spirit, in reward of his fidelity; under the feeling whereof, a lively concern was raised in his mind for the good of mankind ~~in~~ general; that they, through repentance and circumspection of life, might be made partakers of the like precious favour; and for this purpose he apprehended it his duty to exhort his friends and others in a public manner to repentance and faithful obedience to the internal convictions of divine grace. He appeared as a minister among his brethren before he attained the age of 21 years, and his labours were acceptable to them and others, through the successive stages of his life.

He soon after travelled in the public exercise of his gift, through many parts of England, and into Scotland in the year 1697. In the course of the same year he felt an engagement on his mind to pay a like religious visit to his friends on the American continent; and having proposed his prospect to the consideration of friends of the monthly meeting of which he was a member, and obtained their approbation, and certificate of their concurrence and unity with his concern, he embarked at Gravesend the 26th of 10th month, 1697, and after a tempestuous voyage landed at Patuxent in Maryland the 1st of 2d month following. He spent near twelve months

months in America, in which time he visited the meetings of his friends generally in the several provinces from Virginia northward to New-England; where his ministry and conversation were acknowledged to administer comfort and edification to his faithful brethren, of whom he took his leave in near fellowship and mutual affection, and landed at Plymouth in time to reach the yearly meeting in London in 1699.

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1741.

Shortly after this, he entered into the married state, which did not relax his diligence in fulfilling his ministry, for the edification of the churches at home and abroad; for in the course of the same year, he visited the counties of Surry, Suffex and Kent, and afterwards passed over to Ireland in company with William Townsend, and visited the meetings of his friends of that nation in a general way, amongst whom their service was acceptable and satisfactory.

Soon after his return from Ireland, he removed with his wife to America and settled in Philadelphia, in which city and the vicinity thereof, he fixed his domestic residence for life. And here also he divided his time between an industrious application to his outward employment for the support of himself and his family, and the faithful discharge of his service in the ministry, for the propagation of piety and virtue; for which purpose he took many long journeys and voyages through the several English colonies on the American continent, and most of the islands in the West Indies; and in Europe through Great Britain, Ireland, Holland, and several parts of Germany and the adjacent northern kingdoms. In many of these places his ministry and religious labours were blessed with suc-

C H A P. X. cefs, of which feveral witneffes furvived him,
 1741. who were convinced of the truth of the principles which he preached, became ferviceable members of this fociety, and continued therein to the end of their lives.

But the proper reward of virtue is not abundance of goods of this world, but the prize in profpect of the righteous man, peace here and everlafting happinefs hereafter. It pleafeth divine wifdom, whole ways are beyond the investigation of human understanding, to perfect the faith and exercife the patience of the beft men, by fuffering them to feel adverfity in common with other claffes of mankind: as to the contingencies of this life (in the wordsof Solomon,) *one event cometh to the righteous and the wicked.* This good man in his temporal affairs met with various trying casualties, loffes and difappointments, not in confequence of any extravagance or indolence of his, being frugal without covetoufnefs, and induftrious in bufinefs without fuffering an anxious care for temporals fo to engross his mind, as to unfit it for, or prove an obftruction to his religious progreff or his religious duties. Through various unfavourable and unforefeen events, heavy loffes by fea and land, by fire and water, he was much reduced in his outward circumftances; yet being fupported by confcious integrity, he did not fink under misfortune, but as the moft likely means that offered for retrieving the ftate of his affairs, he betook himfelf to a fea-faring life, and made feveral voyages to Barbadoes, in quality of factor, and afterwards as mafter of a veffel, wherein he encountered many difficulties and dangers in order to provide for his family, and difcharge his

his pecuniary engagements. From the year 1727 to 1735, he frequently crossed the seas in the way of trade, mostly to Barbadoes and other West-Indian islands; once to Dublin, and last of all to London, where he sold his vessel and settled his affairs to satisfaction; joyful that divine providence (who seeing the integrity of his heart, and the honesty of his intention, had supported him through all his difficulties, and in the midst of outward troubles had often replenished his mind with inward consolation) had favoured him so far, as to grant him to see the end of his labour accomplished; he then purposed to decline trading any longer by sea, in which he had engaged not from choice, but expediency; not to accumulate wealth for himself, but to provide things honest in the sight of all men.

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1741.

A heart influenced by pure religion, duty to God and love to mankind, steadfastly pursues the same important object in every vicissitude of life. This friend in his sea-voyages generally held religious meetings with the passengers and mariners on the first days of the week, and at convenient seasons on other days; he frequently exercised himself in reading the scriptures and other religious tracts, or in meditating and writing upon religious subjects for the edification of himself or others. Many pieces which he wrote at sea are convincing proofs that religious considerations were predominant above all others in his mind.

On shore his engagements in business did not abate his zeal to make use of all opportunities of visiting the meetings of friends as formerly, both in the neighbourhood of his residence,

C H A P. when at home; and in those parts whither his
 X. business drew him.

1741.

After he had settled his affairs and was discharged of the heavy load of care, which had long oppressed him, he spent several months in England exercising his ministerial labours for the last time, amongst his friends about London and Northward. Which service being finished, and a favourable opportunity occurring for returning home, he took his departure from England and landed at Philadelphia in the year 1736.

Thomas
 Chalkley
 visits Tortola.

Although he had now passed his 60th year, and was at times afflicted with the asthma, he continued his religious visits to his friends in various parts of the American continent more or less every succeeding year of his life; and last of all in the year 1741 he embarked for Tortola under a concern to preach the free gospel, as way might be opened, to the newly convinced inhabitants of that island, for their confirmation and establishment in spiritual religion, as the way to salvation.

In this island he was joyfully received and hospitably entertained by John Pickering and his wife, where he diligently exercised himself in the faithful performance of the service which he came upon, being day by day employed therein, either in public meetings or in private visits to the families of the inhabitants; and these visits generally ended in a religious meeting, the people being so awakened and so desirous of being instructed in solid religion and the way of peace and salvation, that he could seldom pay a friendly visit but the rooms would be filled, or seldom depart without a season of worship, in which he was often engaged in ministry

nistry amongst them, to his own refreshment and the benefit of the audience. C H A P.
X.

Having thus profitably employed his time for about seventeen days, on the 29th of 8th month, he found himself indisposed, yet attended the week day meeting that day, and also the meeting on first day following, wherein he concluded his last labour in the words of the apostle Paul, *I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course; I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness.* His disorder proving a fever, in three days terminated his labours with his life, the 4th of 9th month, 1741, in the 66th year of his age, to the great regret of his friends and others, whose affectionate esteem and respect he had in a peculiar manner engaged, during his short stay amongst them, by his edifying ministry, his instructive and exemplary deportment, and his universal benevolence and tenderness to the inhabitants of the island, of every rank and profession.

The character given of him by his friends, amongst whom he lived, and who were witnesses of his general demeanour, is this, that in disappointments and afflictions, of which he had a large share, his patience was remarkable: his meekness, humility and circumspection in the general course of his life and conversation were conspicuous and exemplary; gentle, courteous and loving in his deportment, not only to friends, but to all others, with whom he had conversation or dealing; few have lived so universally beloved and respected amongst us. He was a lover of unity amongst brethren, and careful to promote and maintain it; yet his
love

1741.

CHAPTER. love and regard to peace, did not divert him from the discharge of his duty in a faithful testimony to those that professed the truth, that they ought to be careful to maintain good works. And he was often concerned zealously to incite and press friends to the exercise of the good order and discipline established in the wisdom of truth.

1742. Account of John Estaulgh. John Estaulgh, was born in Keldevon, in Essex in Great Britain, anno 1676, of religious parents. As he advanced towards maturity, he grew uneasy with the religious professions of both his parents, they being of different persuasions, and being religiously engaged to seek after the truth, he fell in with the Baptists, whom he liked so well, as to incline to join with them. But being at the burial of a neighbour, who had been one of the people called Quakers, a friend was led to speak with such life and power directly to his state, as to make a deep and lasting impression on his mind. This put him upon an enquiry into the principles of friends, of the truth of which he was so fully convinced, as to join the society about the seventeenth year of his age.

He came forth in the work of the ministry when about eighteen years old, and being faithful to the manifestations of duty, he grew in his gift, and soon after travelled to visit friends in the north of England and in Scotland, and in the year 1700, he came over on a religious visit to friends in America. After he had performed this visit to the great satisfaction of friends, he settled at Haddonfield in the county of Gloucester, New Jersey, where he soon after married.

After

After he settled in America, he visited friends in England and Ireland; and many parts of the continent of America; and several times paid visits to some of the West-Indian Islands;* but in the latter part of his life, he was prevented by indisposition from much travelling. His good master, who requires no impossibilities, favoured him with ease of mind, and the comforts of domestic peace at home, during this his time of bodily infirmity. His wife who survived him testifies that she believes few if any ever lived in a more perfect harmony than they did. He was a pattern of moderation, not lifted up with any enjoyments nor cast down at disappointments. He was a man humble minded, and exemplary, solid and grave in his deportment, well becoming a minister of Christ, zealous for preserving good order in the church, and maintaining love and unity, that badge of true discipleship, remarkably careful in his conversation among men, his words being few and savoury.

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1742.

After some years of indisposition, it pleased the Lord to restore him to a state of health; and soon after he had a concern to visit friends at Tortola. This brought on him a deep exercise, but when he was confirmed it was really required of him, he gave up to it; and was then weaned from home, and the company there, which used to be so pleasant to him.

He first wrote to friends on that island; but finding that would not excuse him, he durst no longer delay; so on the 13th of 8th month, 1742, he left his home to proceed on his visit to that Island. On the 8th of 9th month, he arrived at the house of John Pickering with his companion John Cadwallader, where they were received

* See page 149 of this vol.

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1742. received with much love and great joy, being made to rejoice together in the tender mercies and love of God, which were greatly manifested that day, to the honour and praise of his name, and to the comfort of his people. The testimonies of these ministers were with life and power, and as clouds of rain upon a thirsty land.

The godly life and conversation of this friend, of whom we are now giving a particular account, spoke him a true follower of the Lamb, and minister of Christ. He had his health very well, 'till the death of his dear companion; but going to his funeral he caught his illness from a shower of rain. However he was favoured with the divine presence, so as to be able to answer the service of that day; and the next being first day he was at meeting, and though near his end, his candle shone as bright as ever, and many that beheld it, were led to glorify God on his behalf. This was the last opportunity he had on the island, except his farewell on his dying bed, where he both preached and prayed, a short time before his departure.

On the next day he went to a little island called Jos. Vandick's, accompanied by several friends; on the third day in the morning, he complained very much, but was enabled to go to meeting, where he bore a lively testimony, but from weakness of body, and extending his voice, he was so inwardly spent, that he was ready to faint. However he went on board the sloop that night on his return to Tortola, where he landed next morning. He had not been long at his lodging before he was seized with a shivering fit, and a fever soon followed. The two last

last days he suffered much pain, yet he was preserved under it in patience and resignation, and had his perfect senses to the last—On the 6th of 10th month, he went away like a lamb, with praises and thanksgivings on his lips in the 67th year of his age.

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X.
1742.

John Cadwallader, was convinced of the truth when young; and by a diligent attention to its manifestations, became in some time a minister thereof to others. He travelled much in the exercise of his gift on the continent of America; twice crossed the seas to Europe, and once to Barbadoes on the same account. His last visit was to the island of Tortola, in company with John Estaugh. He was taken ill on his passage thither, yet when he landed, proceeded in the service, upon which went, much to the satisfaction of friends there, as appears from accounts from thence. But his disorder encreasing upon him, he departed this life in peace on said island, the 26th of 9th month, 1742, aged near 66 years.

Account of
John Cad-
wallader.

C H A P. XI.

P E N S Y L V A N I A.

Original State of Pennsylvania.—Its long Enjoyment of Peace.—A due Regard to Religion the surest Foundation of a good Government.—The Prosperity of Pennsylvania under the Administration of the People called Quakers.—New Settlers excite Discontents.—The proprietary Governors endeavour to make Encroachments, which are opposed by the Assembly.—Whereby they conceive a Dislike to Friends.—The French instigate the Indians to war against the English Plantations.—Declaration of War.—Causes a popular Cry for warlike Preparations.—Militia-law for the lower Counties.—Address to the Proprietaries thereupon.

C H A P.
XI.

Original
state of
Pennsylvania.

A. Bene-
zet.

PENNSYLVANIA from the excellent institution of its founder William Penn, in concert with the original planters, and the punctual adherence thereto, in the letter and spirit of it, by the succeeding assemblies and magistrates of the province, in the enacting and executing of useful laws, had enjoyed tranquility and security in the possession of religious and civil rights and immunities, exceeding any other government or nation whose history we are possessed of. The legislative and executive authority being in
the

the hands of religious men (the greater number of whom were of the people called Quakers, although the universal toleration granted by William Penn, admitted all denominations of christians to offices of magistracy and to the highest posts in the state) their laws and institutions were directed to cultivate and maintain a lively sense of religion: and being themselves examples of that sobriety, decorum, and submission to salutary institutions and legal rule, not for wrath but for conscience sake, which they wished to disseminate amongst the different orders of the people, a general harmony subsisted between the inhabitants; and regularity, order and due subordination resulted from this lively sense of religion, to a degree far beyond that merely effected by human policy or penal laws.

That the welfare and happiness of the people is the end of government, is a proposition maintained in theory in other states; but in Pennsylvania it was reduced to practice. A government established on so equitable, liberal and useful a plan, induced great numbers of people of different persuasions, to emigrate from various countries, to participate in the privileges and felicity of this equal government, the basis of which was religious and civil liberty: and for a length of time, under the pleasing sensation of the ease, security and change for the better, they felt from their removal hither, people of different nations, complexions and ways of thinking, lived together in a state of society beautiful in prospect, and happy enjoyment, in mutually giving and receiving the benefit of an equality of privileges in peace, amity, and benevolence, although

A. Bene-
zet.

C H A P. XI. though not belonging to the same visible church, yet as belonging to the same fraternity of mankind. Universal liberty of conscience, and universal good-will to men, being in the estimation of the people called Quakers essential characteristics of the christian religion, have been adopted by them in their fullest extent, they hold none excluded from the favour of God on account of their religious persuasion, provided it be founded in his fear, and the love of mankind.

1755.
Its long
enjoyment
of peace.

By means of these excellent principles of government, and the just and equal administration thereof, through the favour of divine providence, Pennsylvania had enjoyed an almost uninterrupted peace from within and without for more than sixty years.

A due re-
gard to re-
ligion the
surest foun-
dation of a
good go-
vernment

Amidst the variety and fluctuation of opinions upon the subject of government, it appears evident to me, that it is virtue, simplicity of manners, and a reverent regard to religion, more than the particular form, which stamps it with the character of good and excellent; not but I admit some forms and some constitutions are better in themselves than others, and better adapted to promote the general good, yet we shall find, that wherever virtue, justice, and real religion are departed from and disregarded, the very best will go to decay. Those ancient republics which many so much admire, and extol, as perfect models of good government, were only so, while the people by the example of their superiors, were taught to be virtuous, frugal and temperate; but when opulence and vice had banished those good qualities, and introduced dissipation, luxury and a general corruption

ruption of manners, what scenes of human misery can exceed those produced by the collision of inflamed and hostile parties, by the cruelty and vengeance of their leaders, or the violent outrage of a licentious and ungovernable populace? So that most ages, states and nations, have verified the scriptural position, *Righteousness exalts a nation but sin is a shame* (and very often a downfall) *to any people.*

The industry, frugality and security of the original Pennsylvanians, made this colony as prosperous and flourishing during this period as it was peaceful. This flourishing state of the province, occasioned a great accession of people of different dispositions and views from the first settlers, who had resorted thither to share in its prosperity, which they had contributed nothing to. And many of these soon discovered, that they grudged the body of friends the rank and influence which they possessed in the state, and the place they had in the estimation of the people, although so justly entitled thereto; both on account of their being principally instrumental, through much expense, labour and difficulty, to reduce the wilderness into a fruitful land, and bring the province to its present state of prosperity; as also on account of the equity and œconomy of their government, which had proved them faithful guardians of the public weal: parsimonious in granting and rigid in requiring an account of the expenditure of the public treasure; limiting the salaries of public offices to a moderate and reasonable compensation for the labour and trouble thereof; peculation was a stranger here, and public taxation very light: under their government the people had been long

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XI.
1755.

Its prosperity under the administration of the people called Quakers.

C H A P.
XI.

1756.

Envious
persons set-
tling
among
them excite
discontent.

long contented and happy; so that it is no wonder that in general they regarded them with cordial esteem.

But those who envied them their power and influence, those who had in a great measure got possession or wanted to get possession of the posts of government they had enjoyed, and to reap the fruit of their labours, began to interrupt the peace of this peaceful state, and sow the seeds of discord and discontent by decrying the public measures of friends. As a self interested policy prevailed, that brotherly intercourse and mutual benevolence, which had so honourably distinguished the original colonists decayed: private interest and private views were more regarded by many than the public good, and gradually introduced jealousies, mistrusts and party-animosities, whereby the system of happiness, so long and so well maintained, suffered a lamentable reverse; and the manners of the people discovered an alteration for the worse.

The prop-
rietary
governors
endeavour
to make
encroach-
ments
which the
assembly
opposes.

A principal cause of uneasiness to the people called Quakers and the ancient inhabitants of the province, seems to have arisen from the proprietary governors and their adherents, who did not pay that strict regard to equity and the constitutional rights of the people in all the departments of government, which during the life of the first proprietor and long after, had with little exception, harmonized the different orders of the state within itself, and gained it the reputation of wisdom and honour from those who attentively considered its excellency. The descendants of William Penn, who inherited his possessions and his power, do not appear to have inherited all his virtues, his disinterestedness,
his

his faith, or his benevolence: they, and the governors under them on fundry occasions adopted self-interested maxims of government, and partial schemes of policy. Not contented with the power and emoluments the constitution allowed them, they had extended and wanted still to extend their prerogatives further; and such of the people called Quakers as were members of the assembly, in conjunction with others, conceived it to be their civil as well as religious duty in faithfulness to their constituents and in the conscientious discharge of their delegated trust, to adhere firmly to the salutary regulations and concessions agreed upon between the early settlers and William Penn, which stood as a guard and defence of the subjects rights, and as a bar against the encroachments and sinister designs of men lusting after the unequal emoluments they hoped for, from the attainment and exercise of an undue power and influence: Under these impressions the assembly opposed and withstood all further innovations and invasions of the constitutional rights of the people.

From this opposition to their selfish purposes, the governor and his partisans manifested a great dislike and enmity to the body of this society; and having the ear of the proprietaries, they exerted themselves by most unfair and unjust representations to impress them with very unfavourable sentiments of the society in general, and to create jealousies and distrusts between them and the colonists, to separate their interests and set them at variance, having perhaps more regard to their own views and power, which they sought to establish by these means, than either to the real interests of the province

C H A P.

XI.

1756.

Whereby
they con-
ceive a dis-
like to the
Quakers in
general.

C H A P. province or the proprietaries, which in the opi-
XI. nion of judicious men were united, and that
 1756. they were no friends to either who endeavour-
 ed to separate them.

The
 French in-
 stigate the
 Indians to
 war against
 the Eng-
 lish plan-
 tations,

Declarati-
 on of war.

Causes a
 popular
 cry for
 warlike
 preparati-
 ons in
 America.

The enemies of this society also sought occa-
 sion to accomplish their selfish designs, and about
 this time an opportunity presented. The hosti-
 lities of the French had been but little suspend-
 ed by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in these re-
 mote parts; for while peace was ostensibly pre-
 served in Europe, both in Asia and America hos-
 tile measures were carried on in a covert way, which
 discovered themselves in America by the incursi-
 ons of the Indians into the back settlements of the
 English plantations, being instigated thereto by the
 French as was generally understood; who kil-
 led and scalped many of the inhabitants, and
 carried others into captivity. The French at
 the same time were busily employed in erecting
 a line of forts on the back of the English settle-
 ments and in places to the prior possession of
 which England laid claim. These infractions of
 a treaty so lately made, produced repeated com-
 plaints from the government of Great Britain
 without redress; they were principally answer-
 ed by recriminations, so that at length the result
 was a declaration of war on both sides.

This circumstance furnished a plausible occa-
 sion to raise a popular cry for warlike prepara-
 tions, which the people called Quakers were
 known to be principled against, and for their
 declining to enter into such measures they were
 treated with all the virulence of party rage:
 both the pulpit and the press were employed to
 calumniate and vilify them; they were repre-
 sented

presented as unfit to take any share in government, and much violence and artifice of party were put in practice, with little regard to truth or justice, to deprive them of their reputation and their influence.

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XI.

1756.

About this time means were used to get a law passed by the legislature of the lower counties on Delaware, for establishing a militia, and it seems to have been enacted in a temper, that paid no regard to the conscientious scruples of friends and others; but rather pointed to bring them under difficulties and sufferings. Upon this it was thought necessary to address the proprietaries with the following remonstrance, viz.

Militia
law passed
in the low-
er counties
on Dela-
ware.

To Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, proprietaries of Pennsylvania, and the three lower counties of New Castle, Kent and Suffex upon Delaware.

The Address of the People called Quakers, on behalf of their Brethren inhabiting the said lower Counties, respectively sheweth,

‘ That for above one hundred years past, we
‘ as a religious society have declared to the
‘ world, that we could not for conscience sake
‘ bear arms or be concerned in military prepara-
‘ tions; that for many years after our becoming
‘ a distinct society, we suffered many grievous
‘ and oppressive persecutions on account of our
‘ principles; that the prospect of being intirely
‘ relieved from such oppression, and of enjoying
‘ perfect liberty of serving God in the way they
‘ believed most agreeable to him, engaged many

CHAP. XI. 1750. of our ancestors to leave their native lands, and come over to settle this, then a wilderness country, and though your honourable father's principles were well known to be for intire liberty of conscience, yet he and the first settlers mutually thought it necessary to fix this as a law before they came over, and accordingly did, as appears by the 35th section of laws agreed upon in England, May the 5th, 1682, in these words.

“ That all persons living in this province, who confess and acknowledge the one almighty and eternal God to be the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in society, shall in no ways be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practice in matters of faith and worship, nor shall they be compelled at any time, to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry whatsoever.”

“ That this was understood as the first and most fundamental part of the constitution appears undoubtedly plain, from the solemn manner in which it is introduced, and the general expressions contained in the first clause of the charter of privileges, viz.

“ Because no people can be truly happy though under the greatest enjoyment of civil liberties, if abridged of the freedom of their consciences as to their religious profession and worship, and almighty God being the only Lord of conscience, Father of lights and spirits, and the author as well as object of all divine knowledge,
“ faith

“ faith and worship, who only doth enlighten
 “ the minds and persuade and convince the un-
 “ derstandings of people, I do hereby grant and
 “ declare, that no person or persons inhabiting
 “ in this province or territories, who shall con-
 “ fess and acknowledge one almighty God, the
 “ Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the world,
 “ and profess him or themselves obliged to live
 “ quietly under the civil government, shall be in
 “ any case molested or prejudiced in his or their
 “ person or estate, because of his or their con-
 “ scientious persuasion or practice, nor be com-
 “ pelled to frequent or maintain any religious
 “ worship, place, or ministry contrary to his
 “ or their minds, or to do or to suffer any other
 “ act or thing contrary to their religious per-
 “ suasion.”

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May it please the Proprietaries,

‘ Notwithstanding these plain and explicit words,
 ‘ an act of assembly hath been lately passed in
 ‘ the lower counties, entitled, an act for establish-
 ‘ ing a militia in this government, whereby the
 ‘ inhabitants are required to enlist, provide
 ‘ themselves with arms and ammunition, to at-
 ‘ tend with them at certain stated times, “ in
 ‘ order to be taught and instructed in the mili-
 ‘ tary exercise;” with other injunctions of the
 ‘ like kind and nature under certain fines and
 ‘ penalties, without any exemption of those of
 ‘ tender consciences, which in our judgment is
 ‘ in direct repugnance to the clauses above re-
 ‘ cited, because it enjoins certain acts and things
 ‘ contrary to the religious persuasion of many
 ‘ of the inhabitants.

H h 2

‘ Our

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‘ Our ancestors who did foresee the probable
 ‘ inconveniencies likely to attend, had the great-
 ‘ est reason to esteem this interesting and important
 ‘ point inviolably secured to them and their
 ‘ posterity, both by the foregoing, and (if possi-
 ‘ ble firmer still) by the following paragraphs of
 ‘ the same character, viz.—“ But because
 ‘ the happiness of mankind depends so much
 ‘ upon the enjoying of liberty of their consci-
 ‘ ences, as aforesaid. I do hereby solemnly de-
 ‘ clare, promise and grant, for me, my heirs
 ‘ and assigns that the first article of this char-
 ‘ ter, relating to liberty of conscience and eve-
 ‘ ry part and clause therein, according to the
 ‘ true intent and meaning thereof, shall be kept
 ‘ and remain without any alteration inviolably
 ‘ for ever, and if any thing shall be procured
 ‘ or done by any person or persons, contrary
 ‘ to these presents, it shall be held of no
 ‘ force.”

‘ We presume we need not say much more to
 ‘ you on this head, because we are informed that
 ‘ you have always given express instructions to
 ‘ your deputies that in case of making any mi-
 ‘ litia law, they should take especial care that
 ‘ the charter be not infringed in this respect, it is
 ‘ therefore we have the greater cause to hope
 ‘ for your disapprobation of the act before men-
 ‘ tioned, as far as concerns tender consciences,
 ‘ and we earnestly request it may be speedily
 ‘ declared, as the heavy fines laid on the offi-
 ‘ cers for not putting it in execution, is without
 ‘ doubt, intended to oblige them to a strict ob-
 ‘ servance of the several parts of it, and as it is
 ‘ possible this may come to your hands before
 ‘ you receive from your officers here, a copy of
 ‘ the

‘ the said act, we have sent one certified under
 ‘ the seal of the office at New Castle; to our
 ‘ friends Richard Partridge, Thomas Jackson,
 ‘ John Hunt and John Fothergill, whom we
 ‘ have requested to communicate it to you, and
 ‘ though our principal objection to the act arises
 ‘ to its enjoining things upon some of the inha-
 ‘ bitants, which they are religiously persuaded
 ‘ they neither can nor ought to do, yet we be-
 ‘ lieve in your perusal of it you will see other
 ‘ reasonable objections, in particular that the fines
 ‘ for noncompliance, are so many and so much
 ‘ in the power of rapacious officers, that they
 ‘ may under the colour of it, take more (from
 ‘ such as cannot for conscience sake comply)
 ‘ than the produce of their labour, after
 ‘ necessary allowance for clothes, diet, &c.
 ‘ would amount to, as goods taken in conse-
 ‘ quence of such oppressive measures, are gene-
 ‘ rally sold much under their real value, which
 ‘ if the law be so put in execution, must tend to
 ‘ the ruin of the worldly substance of many in-
 ‘ habitants, and the consequence of that to your
 ‘ interest, we need not point out.

‘ We sincerely desire that divine wisdom may
 ‘ be plentifully afforded to conduct you through
 ‘ the various difficulties attending your station,
 ‘ to your own true peace, the prosperity of your
 ‘ province and the glory of God.’

Signed at Philadelphia, 5th month 21st, 1756,
 by a committee appointed by the yearly meet-
 ing, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

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C H A P. XII.

PENNSYLVANIA CONTINUED.

Enleavours used to deprive Friends of their Places in the Assem'ly.—They are misrepresented to the British Nation and Government.—General Meeting at Philadelphia.—Dead Bodies of some who had been murdered brought into the City.—Vindication of Friends.—Remarks upon the Indians, and the Methods of treating them.—Subscription for the suffering Inhabitants.—Meeting for Sufferings established at Philadelphia.

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BY the misapprehensions and prejudices raised in the minds of the proprietaries concerning them, or by their voluntary resignation, few of the people called Quakers now enjoyed any share in the executive part of government; and to elude the force of that spirit of envy and rancour, which had been artfully excited against them, and for the peace and quiet of their own minds, several of them had avoided taking part in the legislature. On the approach of the annual election of this year, their adversaries exerted their utmost efforts to prevent the same members being re-elected, the press being set at work, to pour forth acrimonious and unjust invectives against them, in order to prevail with the electors to set them aside, and chuse their own partisans, or members who might be brought to act in a manner more conformable

formable to their views; but notwithstanding much the greater number of the inhabitants were not of their society, yet such was the confidence reposed in those Quakers, (so called) that the former representatives who had not declined the service were rechosen, by the greatest majority ever known, and this was done not only without the solicitations, but in some instances without the privity or approbation of some that were chosen, four of whom, being of those called Quakers, at the first meeting of the house resigned their seats, and a new election took place.

Their antagonists, filled with vexation at their disappointment, both in missing their aim in the election, and finding all their disingenuous efforts had made so little impression on the judgment of the electors, whose dependance on the tried integrity of their representatives, where their views and characters, and those of their adversaries were best known, was too firm to be easily shaken; next exerted their endeavours to carry their point, by misrepresenting them on this side of the Atlantic, where both the Quakers (so called) of America, and their accusers; their different views, principles and general conduct were less thoroughly known; for this purpose they drew up the most pointed invectives, and procured them to be printed in pamphlets and the English news-papers. In order as much as possible to prepossess the minds of the people with strong prejudices against them.

The general or half year's meeting was held in the third month of this year at Philadelphia in course, and notwithstanding the deeply exercising trials which affected this society at this time,

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Theadver-
saries mis-
represent
friends to
the British
nation and
govern-
ment.

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General, or
half year's
meeting at
Philadel-
phia.

time, they had a strengthening and edifying meeting, and, beside a great number of friends from different parts of the country, it was attended by Samuel Fothergill and Catharine Peyton from England, and Mary Peisley from Ireland; these being well qualified ministers and deeply experienced in the work of religion, their service was very helpful and instrumental to the consolation of their friends, and to the confirmation of their faith, patience and stability in their religious principles.

During the time of this meeting an incident occurred which affected friends with still more gloomy apprehensions. The Indians who had before ravaged some of the frontier settlements, about this time renewed their incursions on the back settlements of Pennsylvania, where they burned several houses and killed and scalped some of the inhabitants: this furnished an opportunity pleasing to the parties, who were clamorous for war, to promote their purpose, in order whereto, two or three of the dead bodies of those who had been murdered, were at this time brought in a waggon to Philadelphia, with a design to exasperate the citizens, and rouse them to tumult and vengeance. For they were taken before the State House door and from thence conveyed through several streets of the city, attended by a crowd of people cursing the Indians and the Quakers also, because they were backward to promote warlike measures for their destruction. The sight of the dead bodies and the outcry of the people were both very afflicting and alarming.*

The

* J. Churchman's journal.

The incursions and ravages of the Indians, and the dangers to which the frontier settlers were exposed, were much magnified, and furnished a plausible subject for more violent exclamations against the people called Quakers, and the absurdity of adhering to pacific principles, when the enemy was at the door: allegations of an alarming nature were now spread through the colonies, and through England, that the province would be ruined or absolutely lost, if speedy measures were not taken, to deprive the Quakers entirely of any share in the government: these representations of the state of this province met a ready reception and belief on this side; and the blame of the whole was laid upon this people, who in fact were the least culpable of any, and the least answerable for the present disturbed state of the colony, as having least contributed thereto.

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The people called Quakers misrepresented in
s and.

For from their first settlement, and while the direction of public affairs was in their hands, the Indians were so far from making hostile incursions into any part of the province, that, being treated by them with a scrupulous regard to justice and with cordial hospitality, in return for the kindness they had received from them, they (the native inhabitants) lived with the Pennsylvanians on the most friendly footing, and regarded them with affectionate esteem. And had the succeeding governors and the people in general observed the like equitable and friendly conduct towards them, I believe these hostile incursions (into the frontiers of Pennsylvania at least) had never been heard of.

Vindication of friends.

Remarks upon the Indians,

For notwithstanding some writers have represented the Indians as naturally stupid, ferocious, treacherous

and the proper methods of treating them.

CHAP. XII. treacherous and ungrateful: yet several of those who had the opportunity of conversing amongst them, and observing them more attentively, represent them in a different character, as sensible, friendly, hospitable, faithful to their engagements, kind to the neighbouring Europeans, and very affectionate and peaceable in general in their own tribes and allies: but of quick sensibility to feel injuries, and of savage cruelty in revenging them*.

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Therefore

* The first settlers of Pennsylvania who had full opportunity of being acquainted with the nature and disposition of the natives, and who made it a principal point to observe strict justice in all their transactions with them, have left us very favourable memorials of the long continued kindness they experienced from those people. The disposition of the Indians has generally been, to shew kindness to the Europeans in their early settlements; and their mental powers are equally with our own capable of improvement. The apparent difference between them and us arises principally from the advantages of our education and manner of life. The early settlers of New Jersey have always confirmed the testimony of the Pennsylvanians concerning them, with respect to the good usage they met with from the Indians. The writer of the history of that province informs us "That for almost a century, the natives had all along maintained an intercourse of great cordiality and friendship with the inhabitants." (A. Benezet)

They manifest much stability in the engagements they have solemnly entered into; patient in affliction, as well as in their submission to what they apprehend to be the appointment of providence; in all which they manifest a nobleness of soul and constancy of mind, at which we rarely arrive with all our philosophy and religion. They are slaves neither to ambition nor interest

Therefore if the like prudence, justice, and friendly intercourse had been maintained in their conduct and commerce with the Indians, by their successors of this age, which had been done by William Penn, and the early settlers, I am persuaded these natives, instead of hostilities would have continued to cultivate the like amicable disposition towards them, as they had done to their predecessors; and that it would not have been in the power of the French in that case, by all their artifice, to have incited them to hostile measures against the English plantations, if the English themselves had not by their neglect and unfair dealing, furnished their enemies with a handle of which they well knew how to avail themselves.—One of our historians remarks upon this period, that “It had been long the method of the English to cultivate the friendship of this fierce and hardy race in time of danger, but to slight it in circumstances of safety.” This served to alienate the affections of the Indians from the English government, and the avarice of our merchants particularly those called the Ohio company, “as well as the Indian traders” who sold them bad commodities, and treated them with perfidy and insolence, served to confirm their aversion.*

These

terest, the two passions which have so much weakened in us those sentiments of humanity which the kind Author of nature hath fixed in the human heart, and kindled those of covetousness, which are as yet generally unknown amongst them. *Charlevoix apud eundem.*

* Duprat observes, “That there needs but prudence and good sense to persuade the Indians to
“ what

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These moving causes of their discontent and present inimical disposition, the people called Quakers were not instrumental to promote. We have seen their early care to prevent any of their members from supplying the Indians with spirituous liquors, of which they were very fond, and which were very pernicious to them in various respects*—they were studious to do them good; to endeavour to draw them by winning persuasions and acts of benevolence, and instruction from the inconveniences to which their ignorance and roving temper subjected them: this the Indians knew, and for this they venerated the memory of the deceased, and placed an especial confidence in the surviving body of this people.

From hence this inference may be drawn, that beside those conscientious motives, which have the greatest weight with religious and good men, to do justly to all men, even as we would have them to do unto us; human prudence and sound policy point out the superior wisdom of endeavouring to conciliate the friendship of the natives, which is easily purchased by affability, honesty and integrity, rather than to subdue them by force, which is not easily effected even
at

“ what is reasonable, and to preserve their friendship
“ without interruption.” He adds, “ We may safely
“ affirm, that the differences we have had with them
“ have been more owing to us than to them. When
“ they are treated insolently or oppressively, they
“ have no less sensibility of injuries than others. If those
“ who have occasion to live among them, will have
“ sentiments of humanity, they will meet in them
“ with men.”

* See vol. iii. page 307.

at the expence of much blood and treasure, often expended in vain. And of consequence that after all the severe censure, calumny, and clamour raised against the people called Quakers in Pennsylvania, their measures of treating the Indians, both formerly and even at this time, were more christian-like, more rational, and more effectual for rescuing the frontiers from their devastations, than the sanguinary and violent measures their adversaries were desirous to promote.*

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It

* “ The perpetual increasing generations of Europeans in America, may supply numbers that must in the end wear out these poor Indian inhabitants from their country; but we shall pay dear, both in blood and treasure, in the mean while, for our injustice.

“ Our frontiers, from the nature of advancing settlements dispersed along the branchings of the upper parts of our rivers, and scattered in the disunited valleys, amidst the mountains, must be always unguarded and defenceless against the incursions of Indians.—The farmer driven from his little cultured lot, in the woods, is lost: the Indian in the woods, is everywhere at home; every bush, every thicket, is a camp, to the Indian; from whence, at the very moment when he is sure of his blow, he can rush upon his prey. In short, our frontier settlements must ever lie at the mercy of the savages; and a settler is the natural prey to an Indian, whose sole occupation is war and hunting.

“ To countries circumstanced as our colonies are, an Indian is the most dreadful of enemies. For in a war with Indians, no force whatever, can defend our frontiers from being a constant wretched scene of conflagrations, and of the most shocking murders. Whereas on the contrary, our temporary
“ expeditions

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It also appears that the people called Quakers were sensibly impressed with a degree of compassion and sympathy for the sufferers in this calamity, equal or superior to any thing of that nature manifested by the adverse party, who taking advantage of the prevailing distresses, to promote their own political schemes were indefatigable in their clamours to vilify the Quaker government; but did little that I find for the help or relief of the afflicted; while the Quakers actuated by motives of commiseration, as soon as they heard of the devastation committed by the enemy Indians on Gnadenhutten, a settlement of the society called Moravians, on the frontier part of the county of Northampton, voluntarily raised a sum of money among themselves, which was expended in provision and cloathing, and committed to the care of suitable persons for distribution among the sufferers.

Subscription
on for the
suffering
inhabi-
tants.

And about the same time a subscription was set on foot and a considerable sum of money contributed by the Quakers in the city, and some parts of the country, for the succour of the distressed inhabitants who had abandoned their habitations on the western frontiers of the province, and taken refuge in the interior parts, which was in like manner distributed among them without distinction of sect or party, and proved a seasonable relief against the winter.

As

“ expeditions against the Indians, even if successful,
 “ can do them little harm. Every article of their
 “ property is portable, which they always carry with
 “ them; and it is no great matter of distress to an
 “ Indian, to be driven from his dwelling ground, who
 “ finds a home in the first place he sits down upon.”

As I am furnished with the originals or C H A P.
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copies of several letters of correspondence, 1756.
which passed between them, I am enabled to trace the transactions of this period, so far as this society is concerned, with a greater degree of precision.*

The annual meeting for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, (held in course in the 9th month of this year at Burlington) taking under consideration the distressed state of the frontier settlements of these provinces, and having grounds to apprehend that many of their brethren in religious profession, situated in parts immediately exposed to danger, might soon stand in need of relief and assistance, who for want of timely attention and care might be liable to suffer greatly in the approaching winter: agreed to raise the sum of one thousand pounds for this purpose: and as the exigencies of the society by the continuance of the calamities of the war and the malevolent misrepresentations of their adversaries required vigilant attention; this meeting after approving the transactions of the committee appointed in the preceding year, found it expedient to adopt a proposal of constituting a meeting for sufferings, and after considering and desiring the services and trust to be committed to the

* I apprehend it will be more satisfactory to the reader, and more apposite to the uniformity of historical narration to recite the matters of fact as they arise, than to interrupt the narrative by the insertion of the letter, and papers at length: yet as some of the said letters and paper appears worthy of a place in this work, and may give considerable satisfaction, I think they may be conveniently introduced in an appendix to this book and referred to as occasion requires.

CHAP. the said meeting, nominated twelve friends as
 XII. representatives of the yearly meeting, and directed
 1756. the respective Quarterly meetings to appoint
 four members each to represent them.

The Services to be performed by the Meeting
 for Sufferings, viz.

“ To hear and consider the cases of any
 “ friends under sufferings and to administer re-
 “ lief as necessity is found to require, or to ap-
 “ ply to the government or persons in power
 “ on their behalf.

“ To correspond with the meeting for suffer-
 “ ings or the yearly meeting in London, and to re-
 “ present the state of friends here, and in gene-
 “ ral to represent this (the yearly) meeting, and
 “ appear in all cases where the reputation and
 “ interest of truth and our religious society are
 “ concerned, but not to interfere in matters of
 “ faith or discipline which are not already de-
 “ termined by the yearly meeting.

“ To consider the uses and manner of appli-
 “ cation of charitable legacies and donations,
 “ and to advise respecting the titles of any
 “ land, or other estate belonging to the several
 “ meetings, &c.

“ To receive an account from the several
 “ particular meetings, of any sufferings to
 “ which friends may be subjected for the testi-
 “ mony of truth.

“ And that fair minutes of all their proceed-
 “ ings should be kept, and laid before the year-
 “ ly meeting from time to time.”

And

And some years after the establishment of the said meeting, the revival of all manuscripts intended for publication by any member of the society, was committed to the care thereof, as also any proposal for the reprinting of books for general service.

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PENNSYLVANIA CONTINUED.

Proprietaries' Answer to the Address.—Calumnies against the People called Quakers in Pennsylvania, gain credit in England.—The Meeting for Sufferings in London interpose on behalf of their Brethren.—A Deputation from them apply to a Nobleman in high Station.—His Advice to them.—Meeting for Sufferings in London write to Friends in Philadelphia.—But one-third of the present Assembly are Quakers.—Rigorous Exactions under the Militia-law.—Proprietaries refusing to let their own Estates be taxed, occasions Discontent.

THE meeting for sufferings in London, in compliance with the request of friends of Philadelphia, in a letter accompanying their address to the proprietaries, appointed a committee to deliver it and confer with them thereupon, who received for answer, " That the proprietaries had no desire or intention to abridge the people of the province of Pennsylvania in general, or friends in particular, of any rights or privileges to which they are by charter entitled; and that

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1756. if either friends or others, inhabitants of the province, apprehend they have any just cause of complaint, and will point out the particular grievance, it shall be duly considered and redressed."—This answer appears plausible, but I think evasive; the address specified the particular grievance and cause of complaint, and that their chartered privileges were abridged; yet it doth not appear, that the complainants received any redress, but the cause of complaint still continued.

The calumnies propagated against the people called Quakers gain credit in England.

On the other hand, their calumniators by their strenuous efforts had well nigh compassed their main design of excluding all the Quakers (so called) from any share in the government or legislature, and subjecting them entirely to their mercy. Their exaggerated mis-statement of facts, and unjust reflections upon a body of men who had deserved better of Pennsylvania, than any other, had met with easy credit by many people of various ranks in England, and filled them with violent prepossessions against the Quakers and their principles and conduct: not only the injudicious part of the people; but men of abilities and men in power had been carried away with the stream of popular prejudice, and suffered themselves to be influenced by the prevailing notion, that the Quakers must be removed from all offices of government, or the province be absolutely lost.

The meeting for sufferings in London interpose their good offices in behalf of their brethren of Pennsylvania.

In this circumstance of affairs the meeting for sufferings in London understanding that measures were in agitation, tending to deprive their friends in Pennsylvania of their religious rights and privileges, and to make some material alterations in the present frame of government in that

that province; from that fraternal affection and sympathy which connects the members of this society as brethren all the world over, and in discharge of the trust of their appointment, which is, to advise and interfere in every good office for the help and relief of their friends under suffering in general, thought it their duty to use their endeavours to prevent the design taking effect.

A deputation of several friends was accordingly appointed to wait upon a nobleman in a high station, in order to request his advice and favourable interposition, who received and treated them with remarkable kindness, and candidly gave them his advice, and promised his endeavours to prevent matters being carried to extremity; the purport of his advice the said deputed friends delivered to the meeting in their report, as follows.

He acquainted friends who waited on him, that he discovered a general and strong prepossession excited against us as a people, both here and in America, chiefly he believed from the repeated accounts transmitted hither, of the distressing situation of affairs in that province, which were too readily credited by all ranks, and ascribed to the principles and conduct of the society.

Advice
given by a
nobleman
in high
station.

That even those in considerable stations, who had been our firm friends on various occasions, now seemed to be so far influenced, as to be either wavering in their opinion or disposed to join in the popular cry against us; and that from the present appearance of things, such seemed to be the temper of many, that no measures however disadvantageous to us, could be

C H A P. offered to either house, which would not at
 X I I. least meet with a strenuous support.

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Nevertheless that he and a few more from a thorough knowledge and approbation of our principles and conduct in divers particulars; and from a consideration of the injustice it would be, to exclude those from any share in the legislature of a province, who had so highly contributed to its present value and reputation, were desirous that we ourselves if possible, should apply a remedy, rather than leave it to be done by the public, who from the disposition they were in, seemed inclined to the severest; a clause for totally excluding our friends in Pensylvania and other parts of America, from having seats in any provincial assembly, by imposing an oath, having actually been part of a bill now before parliament, that as the majority of the present assembly were of our profession, who from their known principles could not contribute to the defence of the country, now grievously harassed by the Indians under French influence, in a manner that most people here, and even many in Pensylvania, thought necessary; it seemed but common justice in our friends to decline accepting a trust, which under the present circumstances they could not discharge; and therefore advised that we should use our utmost endeavours to prevail upon them, neither to offer themselves as candidates, nor accept of seats in the assembly, during the present commotions in America.

That if we could give any reasonable hopes this advice would be complied with, he for one would endeavour to prevent any violent measures from being taken at the present.

But,

But, that as much depended on this compliance, he earnestly recommended we should not trust to letters only, or the most pressing advices, but that even some proper persons should be deputed to go over on this occasion.

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For should any disaster befall the province, and our friends continue to fill the assembly, it would redound to the prejudice of the society in general, and be the means, perhaps, of subverting a constitution under which the province had so happily flourished.

He farther recommended it to us, to wait upon some other principal persons in high stations, and endeavour to prevail upon them to join in suspending the resolutions which might have been formed either for a present or total exclusion.

In consequence of these conferences and the foregoing report, a letter was drawn up by the meeting for sufferings in London, addressed to friends of the quarterly meeting of Philadelphia, and other quarterly meetings in Pennsylvania; as the subject was of great consequence, not only to the ease and safety of friends there, but to rescue the society at large from the impressions, which malignant abuse had exerted itself to fix unjustly on its reputation, and as the yearly meeting of London was at hand, it was thought expedient to communicate the said letter and the occasion thereof, and the minutes of their meeting to the said yearly meeting, that they might be strengthened by the concurrence and approbation of the body in their collective capacity. The minutes and proceedings of the meeting for sufferings on American affairs were

fully Meeting
for suf-
ferings in
London
write to
friends in
Pensylva-
nia.

CHAP. fully approved; with a recommendation to them, to continue their care and assistance therein as occasion might require; and likewise to use their endeavours to procure two suitable friends to go over, in pursuance of the advice given them. The draught of the letter was also read in the yearly meeting, and approved.

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Two friends carry their epistle.

Two friends being found, who from a persuasion of duty were willing to cross the seas on this occasion, and in the estimation of their brethren were well qualified for the service, each of them having travelled through the province on religious visits and were generally well known and esteemed by their brethren there, viz. John Hunt of London, and Christopher Wilson of Cumberland; they accordingly embarked and arrived at Philadelphia, in the early part of the tenth month this year, meeting with a cordial reception from friends of that city, and had conferences with such of them as were nominated by their late yearly meeting to compose a part of the meeting for sufferings agreed to be established, to whom they imparted the nature of the interesting business upon which they had come over, when they soon perceived it so uniformly coincided with the sense and judgment of the friends in those provinces, that several months previous to their arrival, six representatives in the assembly of Pennsylvania who were members of the society called Quakers, desirous to preserve a conduct consistent with their peaceable principles, and from a conviction of judgment against complying with the military requisitions warmly urged on the legislature, had of their own accord applied to the house for liberty, to vacate their seats; and after consideration of

of the reasons they offered for such a measure, their request was granted, a new election ordered, and other persons not of their religious profession were chosen to supply their places; others also of the same society at the close of the session of this year, refused to be continued in that station. See page 511, *Appendix*, No. I.

William Denny, being commissioned to succeed Robert Hunter Morris, as lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania and its territories, arrived in Philadelphia, in the 8th month,* which raised the hopes of the people, that the proprietaries seeing the ill effects of the controversies which had subsisted were become disposed to remove the cause of their continuance; but it was soon found they had changed their deputy only, and not their measures; in which the assembly was so confirmed by the governor's first speech on public business, that they requested him to lay before the house full copies of such instructions given him by the proprietaries as related to money bills of any kind, with the preambles or other parts that contained the reasons of such instructions, with which request he complied, and they evinced rather an increase than a relaxation of the restrictions heretofore given; and the governor having made a demand of money for the defence of the province, the house framed a bill for granting for the king's use, sixty thousand pounds, to be raised by an

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1756.

A new governor appointed but no change of measures.

* Previous to his leaving London, a committee of the meeting for sufferings there was deputed to wait on him (as had been usual on the like occasion) and request his favourable regard to friends in that province, and he gave assurance of his amicable disposition towards them.

excise

CHAP.
XIII.

1756.

The assembly resolve that the proprietaries instructions are an infraction of the charter.

But one-third of the assembly under the name of Quakers.

excise on spirituous liquors, which was presented to the governor for his assent who after making many objections which occasioned some altercations between them, he at length absolutely refused to enact, whereupon the house appointed a committee to prepare a reply to his objections, on consideration of whose report it was—Resolved—that the said proprietary instructions are arbitrary, and unjust; an infraction of the charter; a total subversion of the constitution, and a manifest violation of their rights as freeborn subjects of England.*

The annual election of representatives throughout the province for the present year, having lately past, and the day appointed by charter for their convening being near at hand, conferences were obtained with those members called Quakers who had been re-elected, in consequence of which four of them, convinced of the propriety of the proceedings of our brethren in Great Britain, agreed to decline taking their seats and the qualifications usually subscribed; their reasons for which were set forth in a writing directed to the speaker and house of assembly, where their request was considered, and allowed, a new election immediately ordered and four others of different religious denominations legally chosen in their stead; so that now of thirty six members of which the whole house consisted, there were not more than twelve under the character of Quakers, and divers of them were not acknowledged members of that society.

The

* Votes of Assembly, vol. iv. page 360.

The several quarterly meetings in the two C H A P. XIII. provinces, appointed their representatives, pursuant to the directions of the late yearly meeting, and the first meeting for sufferings for Pennsylvania, and New-Jersey, was held in Philadelphia, the 11th of the 12th month of this year; at which the before mentioned deputies from friends in England, attending laid before the meeting several papers and two letters they had brought with them, relating to the business of their deputation. 1756.

The inimical disposition which had been so earnestly and undeservedly raised against friends in Pennsylvania, manifested itself not only in endeavours to deprive them of their power and influence there, but extended itself into the government of the three lower counties on Delaware, where the militia-law had been enacted, and was executed with great rigour and oppression on the members of this society, by such Rigorous exactions under the Militia-act. exorbitant exactions that in some instances they amounted to tenfold the sum imposed by law, which rendered it necessary to represent the grievance to the governor by an address on the occasion. 1757.

The proprietaries and their adherents had gained little or nothing by their exertions to remove the Quakers (so called) out of the provincial assembly, for their successors opposed them and their measures, even more vehemently, so that by this time dissensions between them had risen to a very serious height; the assembly having come to a resolution to send an agent to London, to remonstrate to the government there against the proprietaries instructions to their governors, which were apprehended to be subver- The people divided into parties between the proprietaries and the assembly. five

CHAP. ^{XIII.} five of the essential rights of the people. In this circumstance the people called Quakers, though much misrepresented by aspersions and groundless surmises to the proprietors, who were too easily prejudiced thereby, in conformity to their pacific principles, thought it their duty to caution their friends against mixing with the contending parties, so as to suffer their minds to be agitated with the prevailing heats and animosities. The meeting for sufferings also appointed a committee to labour to promote an amicable adjustment of their differences. A conduct highly becoming their christian profession in endeavouring to do good for evil, and very different from the malevolent party spirit of their adversaries.

Yet think they have reason to be dissatisfied with the proprietaries.

Notwithstanding which, friends thought they had still reason to complain of the averiness of the proprietaries to attend to their remonstrance; and in their opinion to their own true interests, as well as those of the people, in not using seasonable endeavours to check the encroachments on the fundamental principles of their constitution; and that they declined to return a satisfactory answer to their address, and were quite silent as to their resolution of preserving to the provincials their fundamental privilege of liberty of conscience: the answer they returned appeared merely evasive, and designed to avoid a plain and candid reply to their request. These proprietaries instead of imitating the example of their honourable father, in studying the welfare of the people, and cultivating a good understanding with and amongst them, by just and generous measures, seem rather after the example of too many in power, to use the power they were invested

invested with to grasp at more, without a due consideration of the obligation they were under to those men, who, by the equity of their administration, their industry, and their virtue had principally contributed to the late prosperous state of the province, whereby the value of their estate was greatly increased.

The principal subject of misunderstanding between the present assembly and the proprietary governors, was concerning the public taxation. The latter in their speeches were continually urging the assembly to raise money for military preparations, and building forts for the defence of the province, which the present assembly or the majority of them, having no conscientious scruple against, were not averse to grant; and in order to raise an adequate sum, had recourse to a land tax, and in drawing up the bills they taxed the proprietary estate, as thinking it reasonable that they who had the greatest property to be defended, should bear their share of the charge. The governor therefore in pursuance of his instructions, whereby the proprietaries claimed an exemption from the tax, and also a controuling power in the disposing of the money raised, refused his assent to the money bills. Both sides persevered in supporting their contradictory sentiment, without yielding; mutual accusations, and remonstrances widened the breach; the frontier settlements still remained exposed to the incursions of the Indians, and the people were divided in attachment to one side or the other, hence arose those party heats and animosities, which this society were concerned to caution their members against intermeddling in.

The

C H A P.

XIII.

1757.

Proprietaries refuse to let their estates be taxed.

C H A P. XIII. }
1757. The assembly of Pennsylvania at the same time having under consideration a law for establishing a militia in that province, the meeting for sufferings at Philadelphia interposed in behalf of friends, by an address to the assembly, in which they again recite the 35th section of laws, and the first clause of the charter of privileges, whereby it appears that laws requiring under pains and penalties, services of friends incompatible with their well-known christian principles, are direct infractions of that religious liberty which was the most essential condition of settlement; and therefore they request that the assembly would make such provision therein that the liberty of conscience heretofore enjoyed, and so solemnly and repeatedly granted by the charter may not in any respect be infringed or violated.

C H A P.

C H A P XIV.

PENNSYLVANIA CONTINUED.

A Proclamation published for a public Fast.—Reasons for not observing it.—Necessity for a Reconciliation with the Indians not early enough attended to.—Subscription and Association for preserving Peace with them.—Government of Pennsylvania treat with the Indians, at Easton.—Some Friends think it best to attend though discouraged by the Governor.—Trustees of the Friendly Association address the Governor in defence of their Conduct.—The Governor transmits to England a Report of a Committee, which casts the Blame on Friends.—An intended Theatre prohibited by the Assembly.

IN the sixth month, this year, a proclamation was published, appointing a day to be observed for a public fast, a manifest evidence that the people called Quakers had little influence in the government; yet being still disposed both to avoid occasions of just offence, or decline complying with the ordinances of the present rulers without rendering a reason, and to inform the public in general concerning their principle respecting ordinances of this nature, a committee by appointment of the meeting for sufferings had a conference with the governor and the mayor

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1757.

CHAP. XIV. 1757. mayor of the city, to whom they gave their reasons for not complying with observations enjoined by human authority. That meeting also published an apology in justification of the practice of friends, and in support of their christian testimony against complying with human injunctions in matters relative to the worship of God, viz.

An Apology for the People called Quakers, containing some Reasons, for their not complying with human Injunctions and Institutions in Matters relative to the Worship of God.

It is well known that the province of Pennsylvania was first settled by a number of pious, sober and substantial people (mostly) members of the religious society called Quakers, who had many years suffered grievous persecutions in their native country, for their faithful conscientious testimony against complying with human institutions and injunctions in matters of faith and worship.

That by their patience and meekness in sufferings, and their integrity, sobriety and honesty in the course of their conduct, they clearly approved themselves to be the sincere followers and disciples of Christ, and were by royal authority entrusted with many valuable and extensive rights and privileges, to be enjoyed with the property they had purchased in the soil of the province, which induced them, without any expense to the government, to cross the seas, and settle and improve it, though at that time a wilderness; and by the 35th section of the first laws made under the royal charter, the most clear

clear and determinate assurance was made to them and their successors, that "so long as they lived peaceably and justly under the civil government, they should in no ways be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practice, nor be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry contrary to their religious persuasion. These privileges were confirmed by our worthy first proprietor William Penn, by the 8th article of the present charter of privileges granted by him in these words. "But because the happiness of mankind depends so much upon the enjoyment of liberty of their consciences, as aforesaid, I do hereby solemnly declare, promise and grant for me, my heirs and assigns, that the first article of this charter relating to liberty of conscience, and every part and clause therein, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, shall be kept and remain without any alteration inviolably for ever."

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From the first settlement of this province, till within a few years past, the administration of the laws was committed chiefly to men of the same principles with the first settlers, and by the divine blessing on their religious concern for the present and future prosperity and happiness of the people, virtue and true religion were promoted and encouraged, vice and irreligion were discouraged, peace, tranquillity and plenty remained in the land; and the enjoyment of religious and civil liberty was inviolably preserved.

We profess, and acknowledge the same religious principles our predecessors published to the world, and since by the permission of infinite wisdom,

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wisdom, the peace of this province hath been interrupted, and the desolating calamities of war experienced by our distressed fellow subjects on the frontier settlements, we have been affectionately concerned in true sympathy, freely contributed towards their relief; and often been engaged both in public and private, to put up our supplications to Almighty God on their behalf; and by the constant tenor of our conduct, manifested that to fear God, honour the king, and promote peace and piety among men are acknowledged by us indispensable duties; yet ever since we were a people we have had a testimony against meer formality and human injunctions in matters of religion and the worship of God; and being taught by the precepts of our Lord Jesus Christ, the testimonies of his Apostles, and our own experience, that the worship and prayer which God will accept, can only be performed and offered by the immediate assistance of the Holy Spirit; we are conscientiously concerned to maintain our religious dissent from formal and ceremonious injunctions; by which set forms or times are appointed in man's will for divine worship, "For though the Jews in the first covenant had many fasts and feasts, and holy-days, as the feasts of the new moon, and passover, and feasts of unleavened bread, Pentecost, the feasts of tabernacles, and the feasts of dedication, which are largely shewed in the books of Moses," yet even in that time when the observation of fasts and appointed days was thus enjoined, the Lord by the prophet declared, *he was weary to bear their appointed feasts, that their solemn meeting was iniquity*, because for want of a proper disposition

F. Howgill's works,
page, 430.

Isaiah, i,
10 to 15.

fition of heart to seek and serve him, their hearts remained polluted. *Ye shall not fast as ye do this day, to make your voice to be heard on high. Is it such a fast that I have chosen, a day for a man to afflict his soul? Is it to bow down his head as a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? Wilt thou call this a fast and an acceptable day to the Lord? Is not this the fast that I have chosen, to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out, to thy house; when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him, and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh, then shalt thou call, and the Lord shall answer; thou shalt cry, and he shall say, here I am.* From which it appears that even when public fasts were observed by divine appointment, yet the Lord declared his disapprobation of them, when the observers thereof did not manifest their sincerity by suitable fruits of repentance and amendment of life. But we dare not comply with injunctions of that kind, as the dispensation in which those outward observations were enjoined, is now ceased. Christ our holy head and high priest, who is the substance of that which was pointed to and hoped for, enjoins his followers the observance of a daily universal fast. A fast from every thing which has not a tendency to purify and perfect the soul, and render it more and more fit to become the tabernacle of the Holy Ghost. He positively requires of his disciples and followers, that *they deny themselves, take up their cross and follow him, and that they watch and pray always, that they may be accounted worthy to stand*

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Isaiah,
lviii. 4. to
9.

Matth. xvi.
24. Luke,
xxi, 35.

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before him. That in the primitive churches they saw an end of these shadows of things to come, and were brought to him, the substance, in whom all figures and shadows do end, is manifest from the repeated expressions of the apostle Paul, For Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth, Rom. x. 4. But now hath he obtained a more excellent ministry, by how much also he is the mediator of a better covenant, which was established upon better promises. Heb. viii. 6. But now after that ye have known God, or rather are known of God, how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage. Ye observe days and months and times and years, I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain. Gal. iv. 9. to 11. One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day alike. He that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord, and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it. Let us not therefore judge one another any more, but judge this rather, that no man put a stumbling block, or an occasion to fall, in his brother's way. Rom. xiv. 5, 6, and 13. Let no man therefore judge you in meat or drink, or in respect of an holy-day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days, which are a shadow of things to come, but the body is of Christ. Col. ii. 16, and 17. And we apprehend that the practice and testimony of our forefathers is truly consistent therewith, as will appear on a perusal of their writings, and particularly those of our worthy friends William Penn and Robert Barclay.

W. Penn's "We cannot, in conscience to God, observe
works, vol. "holy-
2, p. 275.

“ holy-days (so called) the public fasts and
 “ feasts, because of their human institution and
 “ ordination, and that they have no divine war-
 “ rant, but are appointed in the will of man.”
 “ Even as we have suffered much in our native
 “ country, because we neither could ourselves
 “ bear arms nor send others in our place, nor
 “ give our money for the buying of drums,
 “ standards, and other military attire; and last-
 “ ly, because we could not hold our doors,
 “ windows, and shops, close for conscience sake,
 “ upon such days as fasts and prayers were ap-
 “ pointed, for to desire a blessing upon, and suc-
 “ cess for the arms of the kingdom or common
 “ wealth, under which we live, neither give
 “ thanks for the victories acquired by the effu-
 “ sion of much blood, by which forcing of the
 “ conscience, they would have constrained our
 “ brethren, living in divers kingdoms, at war
 “ together, to have implored our God for con-
 “ trary and contradictory things, and conse-
 “ quently impossible; for it is impossible, that
 “ two parties fighting together, should both ob-
 “ tain the victory; and because we cannot con-
 “ cur with them in this confusion, therefore we
 “ are subject to persecution. Yea and others,
 “ who with us do witness, that the use of arms
 “ is unlawful to christians, do look askint
 “ upon us: but which of us two do most faith-
 “ fully observe this testimony against arms?
 “ either they, who at certain times at the magis-
 “ trates order, do close up their shops and hous-
 “ es, and meet in their assemblies, praying for
 “ the prosperity of their arms, or giving thanks
 “ for some victory or other, whereby they make
 “ themselves like to those that approve wars

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1757.
 R. Bar-
 clay's apo-
 logy, page
 565.

CHAP. XIV. 1757. "and fighting: or we, which cannot do these things for the same cause of conscience, lest we should destroy by our works, what we establish in words? we shall leave to the judgment of all prudent men."

And as we can appeal to the searcher of hearts that our testimony herein proceeds from inward conviction and a principle of conscience, and not from perverseness, obstinacy or disrespect to our superiors, we hope the most charitable and christian construction will be put upon our conduct, in thus dissenting from the practice of other professors of christianity: for though we think ourselves well warranted in adhering to the precepts of our Lord Jesus Christ who enjoined his followers, that *when they fasted they should not appear unto men to fast, but unto their Father who seeth in secret*; nevertheless it is far from us to censure or condemn such who sincerely esteem it their duty to observe in humility of soul, days and times of fasting and prayer. Our intention and desire is to preserve our privileges both religious and civil, and to maintain that liberty of conscience we are entitled to by the laws of this province. Conscience is God's prerogative, he is the supreme Lord, Judge, and Guide thereof. "Nor are we so ignorant as to

Matth. vi. 18.
W. Penn's works, vol. i. p. 445.

"think it is within the reach of human power to fetter conscience or to restrain its liberty strictly taken; but the plain English of liberty of conscience we would be understood to mean is this, namely, the free and uninterrupted exercise of our consciences in that way of worship, we are most clearly persuaded God requires us to serve him in (without endangering our undoubted birthright of English

“lish freedom) which being matter of faith, we
 “sin if we omit, and they cannot do less, that
 “shall endeavour it.”

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1757.

We have ever believed that it is by the light or gift of God that all true knowledge in things spiritual is received and revealed, and as the same is manifested and received in the heart, by the strength and power thereof, all true believers, in Christ, come to the clear and distinct knowledge of their duty; and will be taught thereby when to fast, and what to pray for as they ought: and as prayer is the most awful and solemn part of religious worship, we esteem it our duty to wait for divine light and understanding, that we may know the will of God, otherwise we may ask amiss and not receive, *and by offering the sacrifice of fools, do evil.*

The most eminent and experienced christians declared, they, *knew not how to pray or what to pray for as they ought, but as the spirit itself helped their infirmities with sighs and groanings, &c.* And *they were to pray with the spirit and with the understanding,* Surely then not in the will of man, nor because he appoints? Every thing we pray for should be in the name or power of Jesus, and according to the will of God, who knows best what is most proper and convenient for us, and will tend most to his glory and the good of his creatures. And who can say, that adversity and afflictions may not be productive of real good, and a means of bringing many to seek the Lord, who in a time of ease and prosperity forgot and departed from him. For we have great reason to acknowledge that the just judgments of the Lord are now in the land, and that there is cause for deep penitential humility and mourning before him, that these judgments may be removed from

Rom. viii.
26.1. Cor. xiv.
15.

C H A P. from us; and if the people will make a right
 XIV. improvement of them, and every particular per-
 1757. son reform one, as it is in the power of every
 one under the operation and influence of divine
 grace to do; this will be an acceptable fast to
 the Lord: to fast from pride, strife, contention,
 unnatural heats, broils, animosities, blood; from
 luxury, wantonness, revellings, drunkenness, pro-
 faneness, impiety, covetousness, deceit, fraud, in-
 fidelity, and all manner of evil; then might we
 have some well grounded reason to hope that the
 scourge which hangs over us will in due time be
 removed and we again be favoured with days
 of peace and tranquillity.

There are some yet living in this country,
 who are witnesses that so long as the people
 lived in the fear of God, walked in humility be-
 fore him, and kept his holy law and command-
 ments, it went well with them and with their chil-
 dren; the land rejoiced, the blessing of the
 Most High was known, and his powerful and
 protecting providence remarkably conspicuous;
 for though we had no outward barrier, the
 sword was not permitted to enter within our
 border, but the salvation of the Lord was a de-
 fence round about: but now blood has been
 spilt and the land is polluted therewith, and the
 sound of war is heard. Oh! that the inhabi-
 tants may consider these things and lay them to
 heart, before it be too late, and cry mightily to
 the Lord our God, turning to him with all our
 hearts and imploring his assistance, who, if our
 ways please him, can arise for our deliver-
 ance and cause our enemies to be at peace
 with us.

Prov. xvi.
 7.

Signed

Signed on behalf and by appointment of C H A P. XIV.
 our said meeting for sufferings, held at Philadelphia, the 29th of the 6th month, 1757, by 1757.
 JAMES PEMBERTON, Clerk.

But although the members of this society could not consistently join in observing such a fast, they were sensibly affected on account of the calamitous state of the province, and the general disregard to religion and rectitude of conduct prevailing amongst the inhabitants, which they considered as the principal cause thereof; and notwithstanding they were now mostly excluded from places of trust or power in the government, and by their christian principles averse to the shedding of blood; yet they exerted themselves from the first, not without some degree of success, to bring about a reconciliation with the natives, in a manner consistent with their principles. Soon after the first invasion of the frontiers of Virginia by the Indians in the French interest, divers of this religious society were led to turn their thoughts to those Indians who had been their old friends and neighbours, and to consider whether they and the government had fully demeaned themselves towards them with fidelity and justice. A little reflection convinced them there had been a deficiency. Some in their private capacity were willing to promote a good understanding with them, by giving them a testimony of their friendly regard: others of them used endeavours to prevail with the government (as more effectual) to enter into conciliating measures with them; but the proposal was not duly regarded, till the distressed state of the province brought

Necessity
 for a recon-
 ciliation
 with the
 Indians.

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XIV.
brought many to more serious considerations,
and convinced them that such measures were
expedient and even necessary.

Associa-
tion and
subscripti-
on for pre-
serving
peace with
them.

The friends who were principally active in promoting these measures, informed the ensuing yearly meeting of their proceedings, which were approved, and friends in general recommended to assist in promoting so good and necessary an undertaking: but this being business of a civil nature, the meeting did not think it properly belonged to them, as a religious body, to interfere further therein. Many friends and others promoted a friendly association for raising and applying a sum of money for forwarding and preserving a peace with the Indians, a liberal subscription being made by them the application whereof, produced a salutary effect.*

In

* The friendly association was first promoted in the 11th month, 1756, and continued to the 19th of 4th month, 1763; during which time committees were annually elected by the subscribers, who met on the 19th of 4th month, in each year, to receive from the said committee an account of their transactions, and expenditure of the money raised, which amounted to 4004*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* which was chiefly laid out in presents to the Indians and delivered to them at the public treaties either by the governors of the province, Morris and Denny, on behalf of the subscribers, or by the permission or knowledge of the said governors, as well to conciliate the minds of the Indians as to encourage them to seek out and release the captives remaining among them. 430*l.* part of the above sum was contributed by the Menonists, who entrusted it to the care of the said association, and besides the above contributions the sum of 236*l.* 14*s.* was raised by a number of other religious Germans, called Swingfielders, which

In the 7th month (commonly called July) ^{C H A P. XIV.} this year a treaty was opened between the government of Pennsylvania and the neighbouring Indians at Easton, in Northampton county.* 1757.

And several friends proposing to attend the treaty to forward the desirable work of peace, the governor declared his disapprobation of their attendance at the treaty, or distinguishing themselves by giving the Indians any presents.

A treaty with the Indians.

Whereupon

which they directed to be applied for the particular purpose of the redemption of captives.

In 1764, another subscription was set on foot by the people called Quakers, and 266*l.* 10*s.* raised and applied for the relief of the frontier inhabitants distressed by the incursions of the Indians.

Note, these sums are supposed to be in Pennsylvania currency.

* At this place two treaties had been held in the preceding year 1756. One of them in the 7th month by governor Morris, preparatory to the other in the 11th month by governor Denny: when some captives were brought in and restored to their connections: which treaties appear to have been promoted by a conference had between some of the people called Quakers in Philadelphia, and a few Indians who were occasionally in that city, in the 4th month preceding; and also through the mediation of Sir William Johnson, the king's agent in Indian affairs. The subsequent treaties in the year 1758 were also held at Easton, at the last of which, a general peace was settled on the 23d of October, 1758, for Pennsylvania and all the other provinces. Francis Bernard, governor of New Jersey, acting on behalf of that colony. The disputes respecting their claims unsatisfied for lands having been at the preceding treaty, in the month called May, by mutual consent referred to the king of England.

C H A P.
XIV.

1757.

Some friends think it best to attend at it, though the governor disapproves.

Whereupon friends held several conferences as to the measures they should pursue; the result whereof was, that as mutual tokens of the revival of antient friendship had passed between them and the Indians with a view to promote a general peace, it might now be of bad consequence to decline, or neglect attending on this important occasion. In consequence of this determination, several friends from Philadelphia and elsewhere, proceeded on their journey to Easton and attended the treaty.

In the afternoon of the same day that they arrived there, the Indians with Teedyuscung their king or chief waited on the governor, and signified the sincerity of their intentions to promote the good work of peace; when he desired that as things had heretofore been misunderstood or forgotten, he might have the liberty to choose a clerk to take minutes of the transactions of the treaty, which request being twice evaded, it gave the Indians considerable uneasiness, as apprehending treacherous dealing; but by the interposition of friends in conferring with them, and making them a small present they were pacified. At the next meeting the governor consented to allow them a clerk, and they proceeded to the business of the treaty. The first demand Teedyuscung made was that of satisfaction for the injury a messenger of theirs had received, who, being sent on a message to the remote Indians, in his return was shot by one of the provincials, and at this time lay dangerously ill of the wound. The satisfaction he demanded was, that if the wounded man should die, the aggressor should be tried by the laws of the colony and

and suffer death * in like manner. This demand and proposal seemed not well relished by some persons, who wished rather to retard peace than to forward it: the next day there was no public treaty; all things seemed to be in confusion; during which time friends kept quiet, waiting for opportunities wherein they might hope to be more successful in their well meant endeavours, being very earnest to procure peace for the province, and to pursue the most effectual means for obtaining security to the frontier settlements.

C H A P.
XIV.
1757.

But deep rooted prejudice possessed the minds of many, who manifested such bitterness and envy to the whole society, that, their measures were thwarted, their laudable undertakings misrepresented, and their characters aspersed; very unjust charges and insinuations were propagated against friends for their conduct in Indian affairs, as treacherously taking their part in a manner hostile to the interest of the province.

Upon this occasion the friends concerned thought it necessary in their own justification to explain and vindicate their conduct in an address to their governor, William Denny, Esq. which is placed in the appendix, No. 2.

Trustees
of the asso-
ciation ad-
dress the
governor
in defence
of their
conduct.
1759.

What impression this address made on the governor I am not informed, but if a favourable one, he and his coadjutors suffered their minds afterwards to be biased by popular rumours and party; for in the beginning of the year 1759, the said governor and his council transmitted to England a report of a committee by them

* Offering also to renew the annual compact, that if any of their people should commit the like crime the criminal should be delivered up to be tried by the laws of the colony and suffer death.

CHAP.
XIV.

1759.
Report of
committee
against
friends.

them appointed, to enquire into the dissatisfactions and claims upon the Indians, containing insinuations and charges calculated to asperse the society of the people called Quakers, and injure their reputation with the British government. The meeting for sufferings there coming to the knowledge hereof, applied to the governor and council by two successive addresses, for a copy of said report, and received an evasive answer to the first, and to the second a positive refusal, which carries the appearance of a secret design, not only to stigmatize them, but to procure credit to the report as undeniable, by depriving them of the means of vindicating their conduct or of refuting most probably, a partial and misstated representation of fact. *See Appendix, No. III.*

1760.

I find in a letter from the meeting for sufferings at Philadelphia to that in London, bearing date the 25th of 3d month, 1760, a reference to a future treaty to be held the ensuing summer as followeth, “ It will be a great advantage to the
“ public, and afford real satisfaction to us, to
“ find at the general treaty, which is expected
“ to be held with the Indians next summer,
“ that the governor hath full power to terminate the controversies, which are subsisting
“ respecting their lands in the northern parts
“ of Pennsylvania. Until this is done the release of some hundreds of our fellow-subjects
“ who remain in captivity, can hardly be expected to be obtained. The pacific measures,
“ which, through much difficulty have been
“ pursued; being blessed with happy effects,
“ the friends immediately concerned therein
“ are encouraged to continue their endeavours.
“ And it appearing to them necessary at this
“ time

“ time to address the proprietaries of that pro-
 “ vince, we hope, the account they are able to
 “ give of their first motives to engage in that
 “ important business, and their proceedings
 “ therein to the present time, will tend to re-
 “ move some of those prejudices, which have
 “ heretofore prevailed, and engage a favoura-
 “ ble attention to the important subjects of re-
 “ establishing peace on the principles of justice
 “ and equity.” It being their opinion and, they
 think must be that of all men, who are open to
 conviction, that peace with the natives which
 the circumstances of the colonies indispensably
 required was to be restored and preserved only
 by pacific measures.

C H A P.
 XIV.
 1760.

The foregoing quotation seems to elucidate the before mentioned report, of the committee, as to their reasons for reflecting on the proceedings of friends in Indian affairs; it may be presumed from thence that the Indians conceived they had been injured by the proprietaries or their agents, by encroachments on their lands without their consent, or without an equivalent (contrary to the practice of the first settlers) and probably the members of the friendly association thought they had reason to complain, and might give their opinion in favour of a compensation to the natives for the injuries done them, as most consistent with the principles of christianity and justice, and most eligible in the present disposition of the Indians to enter into an amicable discussion of the grounds of their discontent, which might be interpreted by this committee a strengthening of the Indian cause against the proprietary interest. And from political motives might be represented to the English government in terms to carry the appearance of
 being

C H A P. being contrary to the interests of the mother
XIV. country also.

1760.

Thus Pensylvania which for a series of years from its first settlement, had been remarkably distinguished for the public and private virtues; the mutual benevolence; sobriety and industry of its inhabitants; was now disturbed and its peace destroyed by party dissensions and mutual distrusts. And now also the simplicity of manners, which had been the ornament of the state, the safe-guard of its virtue, and the foundation of its prosperity, was in danger of being subverted; for an attempt was made in imitation of the states and populous cities of Europe, to introduce into Philadelphia the refinements of voluptuousness, and a taste for sensual gratifications, by erecting a theatre for exhibiting stage-plays; entertainments which the people called Quakers (as well as the most sober and considerate part of other religious societies) have ever deemed incompatible with the principles of christianity, the tenour of the doctrines of the gospel and the practice of the best men in the earliest ages of the christian church. The members of this society in Philadelphia thought it their duty to bear their testimony against this pernicious attempt, by an address to the general assembly, requesting the interposition of their authority to prevent the introduction of them; in which they were at this time so successful that a law was passed prohibiting such corrupting entertainments.

Friends
address the
assembly
to prohib-
it the in-
tended
theatre, it
is prohibit-
ed.

A P P E N D I X

T O

C H A P. XII. XIII. XIV.

C O N T A I N I N G

No. I. *Extract of a Letter from the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia.*

No. II. *A summary Account of the Occurrences with Governor Denny, on the Approach of the Treaty at Easton, in the seventh Month, 1757.*

No. III. *Abstract from the Report of the Committee of Council, appointed to enquire into the Complaints of the Indians at the Treaty at Easton, 8th of November, 1756.*

No. I. *Extract of a Letter to the Meeting for Sufferings in London, from the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia—Twelfth Month, 1756.*

OUR friends John Hunt and C. Wilson by their long passage being prevented of seeing friends together at our yearly meeting, and the anniversary of the election of the members of assembly for the province of Pennsylvania, being also over, on their arrival they communicated your epistles and minutes to those of us

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APPEN. us who were nominated at the yearly meeting, and
Pensylva- though our meeting was not then fully constituted,
nia. the manner in which you had proceeded in the con-
sideration of our affairs, and the engagements you had
1756. entered into on behalf of friends here, so evidently
appeared to be conducted with a real regard to our
true interest, and so perfectly consistent with our sen-
timents, that they were encouraged and assisted by
those members of this meeting in doing every thing
in their power to render the service proposed effectual,
in order to which, those of our society who were
chosen representatives in the several counties, were re-
quested to give them an opportunity of a conference
before the usual time of meeting in the assembly,
which was readily complied with by all whom there
was at that time any prospect of prevailing with,
to regard the advice and concern of their brethren,
and in consequence of it, four of them declined tak-
ing their seats in the house, and others not of our
profession were soon after chosen in their stead, so
that there are now but twelve of the members of the
assembly who make any pretensions of being called
by our name, and several of these are not acknow-
ledged by us as members of the society; it would
have been matter of real satisfaction to us, to have
been able to prevail with every one of them to decline
serving in the legislature, during the present circum-
stances of our affairs, but this could not be obtained,
as they do not appear to be convinced it would be for
the public interest, for as six of the friends who were
chosen into the assembly last year had resigned their
seats, and some others since refused to be re-elected,
those who now remain say they should not think
themselves excusable to their constituents, if they
should decline the service, but we think it may be truly
said, they were most of them so clear of intermeddling
in the elections, and so many friends declined attend-
ing or voting in several of the counties, that they
appear to be chosen by a majority of people not of
our profession, many of whom are very apprehensive
of danger from permitting those, who have been en-
deavouring

deavouring to subvert the constitution, to have any considerable share in the legislature.

Some of us were witnesses of the circumspection and prudence, with which our dear friends John and Christopher performed this weighty service; and this meeting having now received from them your epistle and minutes, with some account of their proceedings then and since at several quarterly meetings in Pennsylvania, it is our duty to inform you, that we have full unity with them, being assured, they have steadily proceeded with a single eye to the exaltation of truth, and the promoting the peace and prosperity of the church.

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APPENDIX No. II.

A summary Account of the Occurrences with Governor Denny on the Approach of the Treaty at Easton, in the 7th Month, 1757.

Although the governor at the preceding treaty held at Easton, had delivered to the Indians the presents provided for them by the people called Quakers (as his predecessor had done on their behalf and in their name) and expressed his satisfaction with the conduct and company of those who attended that treaty, he now pleaded "That the proprietaries had directed him not to suffer them, or any other body, or particular society in Pennsylvania, to concern themselves in any treaty with the Indians, or on any pretence to suffer presents from such persons to be given to the Indians, or to be joined with the public present in any such treaty." And he further says; "These directions I shall conform to, and my regard for you as well as Mr. Penn's instructions lead me to observe, it would be prudent in you to decline going in a body; your attendance at treaties as a distinct society having given great offence to the ministry."

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L. 1

Which

APPEN. Which answer occasioned the address of the trustees and treasurer of the friendly association, as follows.

No. II.
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nia.

1757. To William Denny, Esq. Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania, &c.

The Address of the Trustees and Treasurer of the Friendly Association, for regaining and preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures.

Respectfully sheweth,

That on consideration of the answer given by the governor to our offer of contributing towards the expence of the ensuing treaty with the Indians, we apprehend it to be necessary to lay before him a true state of the motives, which induced us to use our endeavours to promote a reconciliation with them, of the manner in which we proceeded before and since the governors arrival in this province, and of some reasons we have for desiring to see that the grounds of their complaints are carefully and impartially enquired into and considered, and such measures pursued for satisfying them, as the present melancholy circumstances of this province immediately require; and we doubt not if the governor will be pleased to attend to and impartially consider what we shall offer, he will be fully convinced, that our conduct hath been consistent with the profession we make of acting on those principles, of fearing God, honouring the king and promoting peace among men. We therefore beg leave to inform the governor, that soon after the first accounts were brought of the mischief done by the Indians, on the frontiers of Virginia, some of the people called Quakers residing in Philadelphia, seriously considering the fatal consequences of losing that interest and friendship our predecessors had obtained by their upright dealing and hospitable treatment of the Indians, in the first settlement of this province;

vince; and apprehending the general neglect of them, APPEN.
 which had for some time been obvious, would termi- No. II.
 nate to the public disadvantage, determined to im- Pennsylva-
 prove every future opportunity of manifesting some nia.
 regard to them; and several companies of Indians, of 1757.
 different tribes coming to this city on divers occasions,
 they were visited by some of us, invited to our
 houses, and on their going away presented with some
 small matters, necessary for them in their way of liv-
 ing; and the grateful manner in which they received
 these instances of regard, and the lively remembrance
 they appeared to retain of the friendship which sub-
 sisted between their ancestors and the first settlers of
 this province, afforded us real satisfaction, and some
 grounds to hope our good intentions would not be
 disappointed.

During the following winter the frequent melanco-
 ly accounts of the barbarous murders committed by
 the Indians on the western and northern frontiers of
 this province, filled the minds of people in general
 with a spirit of indignation and resentment against
 them, and no opportunity presented of publicly mani-
 festing the earnest concern we had, to use our utmost
 endeavours, in a manner consistent with our peaceable
 principles, to prevent the impending desolation; the
 calamity became general and every one was deeply in-
 terested in the measures taken for enquiring into the
 causes which induced our ancient steady friends to
 become our enemies: yet this being the proper business
 of those then concerned in the administration of the
 government, we waited the event of their proceed-
 ings, having just grounds to hope that the knowledge
 some of them had of several matters which might pro-
 bably have contributed to this unhappy rupture,*
 together with the repeated applications of the assem-
 bly of the province, would have excited them to
 pursue every rational method of making such an en-
 quiry, and obtaining an amicable adjustment of all

* These were printed both in the gazettes and in their
 minutes.

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differences with these Indians, and of thereby averting the melancholy consequences of continuing to expose them immediately to the artifices of the French, who would not fail to take advantage of our misunderstanding with them: but the spring of another year returned, and the public remained unacquainted with such measures being pursued: great military preparations were indeed made and forts erected in many parts of the frontiers, but the desolation and distress of the province increased, and the sanguine expectations of the people, who had at first hoped by these means to defend themselves, were remarkably disappointed. Governor Morris nevertheless, determining to issue a declaration of war against the Delawares and Shawnee, many of the people called Quakers residing in Philadelphia, met together and presented an address to him, earnestly beseeching “ that every measure which had been pursued and “ whatever remained possible to be done, to prevent so “ lamentable an extremity, might be strictly and im- “ partially reviewed and considered; that full enquiry might be made, whether some apprehensions “ these Indians had conceived of a deviation from the “ integrity of conduct towards them, conspicuous in “ the first establishment, might not unhappily have “ contributed in some degree to the alteration of “ their conduct towards us; that full time might be “ allowed for those Indians, who remained well affected towards us, to use and report the effect of their “ endeavours to reconcile our enemies to us, and that “ by the governor’s care, to guard against involving the “ innocent with the guilty, such clear demonstrations “ of christian tenderness might be given, as might “ tend to the engaging other neighbouring Indians in “ the desirable work of restoring peace and tranquillity; and at the same time offering, though a “ much larger part of their estates should be necessary than the heaviest taxes of a war could be expected to require, by voluntarily grants cheerfully “ to contribute towards the obtaining peace in the “ same manner as the unhappy experience of several “ of

“ of the most martial neighbouring colonies, had
 “ after long and bloody wars, testified it must at last,
 “ if ever, be obtained.”

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Governor Morris was pleased to give a civil answer to this address; but thought it necessary to proceed immediately to a declaration of war: a few days after which, some of us having the opportunity of a free conference with Conrad Weiser, who had, as a provincial interpreter, been long concerned in public transactions with the Indians, we were thereby confirmed in our apprehensions, that some dissatisfaction respecting their lands, had tended to the alienating their friendship from us; and that he thought the only method, to save the province from ruin, was to endeavour for a peace with them by pacific measures; and the next day, a Delaware Indian from the Jerseys was sent to one of us, with a letter from Conrad Weiser, recommending him as a person, worthy of some notice from us and fit to be employed on a message to the Delawares, when an opportunity of sending one could be obtained; and there being at that time a number of the chiefs of the Six Nation Indians in town, some of us thought it necessary to take some friendly notice of them; but being determined to avoid giving any occasion of offence, before we had any conversation with them, two of us waited on governor Morris, and informed him, “ that as he
 “ had issued his declaration of war, we thought it
 “ our duty to acquiesce therein, but, as there were
 “ some friendly Indians in town, we were disposed to
 “ take some notice of them, and to endeavour by a
 “ friendly conversation to manifest our good disposition towards them, and engage their good offices
 “ on any occasion, which might be improved for the
 “ public welfare; and we at the same time, assured
 “ the governor if any thing should occur which had
 “ a prospect of tending to the public interest, or might
 “ be worthy of his notice, he should be fully acquainted therewith.” The governor expressed his approbation of our design, and gave us full liberty to prosecute our intentions, and the next day some of these

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APPEN- these Indian chiefs, with Conrad Weiser, and Andrew
 No. II. Montour the provincial interpreters, and D. Claus,
 Pennsylvania, general Johnson's secretary, dined at one of our
 houses; and after dinner, had some conversation on
 the happy state of the first settlers of this province,
 and the unhappy rupture which had lately hap-
 pened.

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The free and hearty acknowledgments of pleasure and gratitude from these Indians, fully evidenced their good disposition towards us, and induced Conrad Weiser to declare, he had not lately heard them express themselves with so much openness, and he earnestly urged our improving this opportunity; and in order to it he advised the calling together, as many of our antient men of the survivors of the first settlers as we could collect, and to give the Indians another meeting, in which the substance of that conversation might be repeated and enforced on their minds, by presenting them with a belt of wampum. Governor Morris was immediately informed of what had passed, and as there appeared some prospect of improving this disposition of the Indians to the public benefit, he was assured, that if he would advise and direct the manner of proceeding, nothing more was desired by us, than under his direction to proceed therein in such a manner as would be most agreeable to him, most effectually answer the purpose intended, and demonstrate that we did not act from views of private advantage thereby: and lest the differences then subsisting between him and the assembly, about the raising money for the public services, should discourage or retard his engaging therein, he was told, that whatever sum of money should be wanting even to the amount of 5000*l*. he should be immediately supplied with, and by every part of our conduct, should find our hearty concern for the public welfare, to be our principal motive. Our purposes appearing acceptable to the governor, about twenty of us with the same interpreters, had two conferences with the Indians, and the most material parts of what they said, were immediately communicated to the governor,
 and

and the * proposal of sending three messengers to the APPEN.
Delawares and Shawnee, being approved of by him, No. 11
the necessary provision was made for their setting out, Pennsylv-
and proper company provided for their safe conduct na.
through the improved part of the province; and
when they were ready to proceed on their journey, 17.7.
the governor being waited on for the passes, and re-
quested to direct what signal they should give on their
return to distinguish them from enemies; while the
passes lay before him ready to be signed, he suddenly
appeared to change his intentions, and signified his
resolution to consult his council on the occasion. The
minutes of our conversation with these Indians being
examined, and signed by the three interpreters, were
immediately after this delivered to the governor; and
his council being summoned, we were informed they
soon agreed, that as he had so lately declared war, any
offers of peace from him would be unreasonable, and
that the method first proposed of the messengers
going with such instructions as they had received
from their own chiefs, was most fit to be pursued.
The next day the Indian chiefs setting out in the
stage-boat for New York, after they were gone, the
messengers refused to perform the service they had
undertaken, and the day following, the governor, in
consequence of some intelligence received from the
governor of New York, concluded to send the messen-
gers in his own name.

To prevent any misrepresentations of our conduct,
as well as to engage the friendship of gentlemen
from whom we hoped to receive more hearty assistance
than we had from those on whom we had hitherto
depended, copies of the minutes of our conversations
with the Indians, and of their answers, were imme-
diately sent to the governor of New York and to
general Johnson, and an earnest application for their
assistance, in engaging the Indians of the Six Nations
to promote the restoration of peace, with an offer of

* This was made by the Indian chief, and the message to be
from them to the Delawares, &c.

cheerfully

APPEN. cheerfully defraying the expenſe thereof. Governor
 No. II. Hardy was ſo kind as to ſend ſuch an answer, as evi-
 Pennſylva- denced his hearty concern for the public welfare, and
 nia. laid us under ſenſible obligations; and we never re-
 1757. ceived the leaſt hint from general Johnſon, of his diſ-
 approbation of any part of our conduct therein:
 Under theſe circumſtances, we had reaſon to appre-
 hend that our intention was approved of, and the ſpee-
 dy return of the meſſengers with an agreeable anſwer,
 confirmed us in a reſolution to continue our endea-
 vours to engage as many of our fellow ſubjects as poſ-
 ſible, to concur with us therein.

The meſſengers being ſent the ſecond time, on
 their return brought with them the Indian king
 Teedyuſcung, and ſome of his people to Eaſton; and
 repeatedly informed us of the neceſſity of our perſo-
 nal attendance there, and manifeſting thereby, and
 by contributing towards the expenſes of a ſuitable
 preſent, the ſincerity of our profeſſions of regard to
 them, and they were not willing to go back to the
 Indians without us.

We therefore being informed that governor Mor-
 ris had reſolved to meet them at Eaſton, * that the
 provincial treaſury was exhausted, and that the proprie-
 taries agents reſuſed to contribute towards the neceſ-
 ſary expenſes, and appeared averſe to the promotion
 of theſe pacific meaſures; a conſiderable number of us
 thought it neceſſary to enter into a ſubſcription, to-
 wards raiſing a fund to ſupply the deficiency of what
 ought in juſtice to be contributed by the proprie-
 taries on this occaſion, and a conſiderable ſum was im-
 mediately ſubſcribed, and governor Morris informed
 of our inclination to attend at the treaty, and to
 make ſome addition to the preſent provided at the
 public expenſe. From the time of the firſt meſſen-
 gers arriving at Teagoſon, the hoſtilities on our nor-
 thern frontiers ceaſed, and a ſtop being put to the
 cruel deſtroyations that had been committed, an accept-
 able reſpite was obtained for our diſtreſſed fellow ſub-

* The votes of the aſſembly prove it.

jects, which afforded us real pleasure and satisfaction; APPEN.
 so that all the malicious calumnies and aspersions, No. II.
 (which then were uttered) were not sufficient to di- Pennsylvania.
 vert us from the steady prosecution of our purpose. }
 Governor Morris being at Easton sometime before us, 1757.
 immediately after our arrival there, some of us waited
 on him, to repeat our desires of promoting the public
 interest, and contributing any assistance in our power,
 in such manner as might be most agreeable to him;
 he received us civilly, and expressed his approbation
 of our design. At the governor's lodgings we first saw
 Teedyuscung the Delaware chief, to whom we were
 before utterly strangers; on our coming in, he im-
 mediately expressed his regard for and confidence
 in the Quakers, and declared, he would not proceed
 to any business, unless we were present; * and confirm-
 ed it so evidently by his subsequent conduct at that
 and the ensuing treaty, that we could not without an
 unjustifiable neglect of our duty, decline contributing
 our utmost endeavours to improve this disposition, to
 the interest of our country, so far as we might be
 able to do it, consistent with our respective stations in
 life.

Governor Morris was afterwards pleased to accept
 of the present provided by us, and to deliver it in our
 name to the Indians.

After the conclusion of this treaty, governor Mor-
 ris thought it necessary, to send captain Newcastle on
 a message to the Indians at or near fort Johnson:
 but before he was set out, governor Denny arrived,
 and succeeded in the government of this province,
 and we always apprehended, that in his name, and by
 his authority, captain Newcastle went on that message,
 as we never interfered therein in any manner what-
 ever, and were not informed the particular business he
 was charged with. On captain Newcastle's return,
 we found by conversing with him, he had given
 some offence to general Johnson, and we have since

* This was in the hearing of governor Morris.

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had cause to apprehend * that some gentlemen in higher stations, have been informed, that we had sent Newcastle on this message, and given him matters in charge, to be privately transacted with the Indians, after it was known to us, that the king had by a special commission authorized sir William Johnson, to negotiate all matters of a public concern with them; but as we had not given any occasion for such a charge, nor were any way concerned in sending that message, it affords us a particular pleasure, that the governor has given us so favourable an opportunity of clearing ourselves from this unjust censure, and we hope that this ingenuous account of our conduct, in the course of this business before the governor's arrival, will fully evince that we proceeded therein on just motives, and with the regard due from us to the governor of this province.

It is well known to the governor that on his arrival here, some of us waited on him, and one of us assured him, of our sincere desire to proceed in contributing our assistance towards the restoration of peace, in a manner most agreeable to him, and consistent with our characters and stations. He was then pleased to declare his approbation of our purpose; and when we waited on him with our address before the second treaty at Easton, the governor by his answer, † declared his approbation of our proceedings, and his being willing to receive the present we prepared, and invited us to attend the treaty: we had reason to conclude, that our conduct there had given the governor no occasion of offence, as after the business was finished, on our acknowledging his integrity and candour in the public transactions there, ‡ he gave us

* From the account given by general Johnson to the earl of Loudoun of this journey of Newcastle's, it is thought the earl was induced to express himself in the manner governor Denny has published in his late messages to the assembly.

† This answer was in writing.

‡ He thanked us for our company, and said he was glad we were there, and that his conduct was satisfactory to us, and should endeavour to act so upon all occasions, as to deserve our esteem, &c.

such

such an answer, as fully expressed his being well pleased with our conduct; and the secretary and provincial interpreter very liberally declared their satisfaction and approbation of our conduct; and the latter fully testified that we had thereby evidently promoted the public interest, and been instrumental in bringing the business so far towards the desired issue.

From that time till the late treaty at Lancaster, we know of no part of our proceedings which could displease the governor, unless our application to the secretary for an inspection of the records in his office had that unexpected effect. Lest that should be the case, and the intention and manner of that application be misrepresented by any of the proprietaries agents, and others engaged with them in the measures which have contributed to the present unhappy circumstances of this province, we think it necessary to inform the governor, that this province was settled on terms very different from most of the other colonies; the first adventurers were men of substance and reputation, who purchased the lands of the proprietor, and as he obliged himself and his heirs by an express covenant contained in their original deeds "to clear the land from all titles, claims or demands of the Indian natives, or any other persons whatsoever;" they agreed to pay an annual quit-rent, more than sufficient to enable him to satisfy the Indians, and obtain a peaceable possession of the land; and during the lives of our first proprietor and the first settlers, we believe this was faithfully performed, and so large a balance remained towards making further purchases, as the settlement of the country increased, that any attempt to elude the original intention and agreement of honestly purchasing the land of the people, who had a native right in it, will be ever condemned by all impartial and honest men.

At the second treaty at Hallon, the governor by his candid and ingenuous treatment of the Indians (as the Mohawks force aptly expressed it) "put his hand into Ivedyusung's bosom, and was so successful as to draw out the secret (which neither

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"fir

APPEN. " fir William Johnſon nor the Six Nations could
 No. II. " do.") From that time it was generally known,
 Penſylva- that one cauſe of the alienation of their friendſhip,
 nia.
 1757. was ſome injuſtice they had received or ſuppoſed to
 be done them in the purchaſes and running out of
 their lands. They complained of divers kinds of
 frauds, which had been committed, repeatedly urged
 that an impartial enquiry ſhould be made into the
 grounds of their complaints, by ſearching all our re-
 cords, and by the ſtrong motives of a regard to our
 temporal and eternal intereſt, urged the governor to
 give liberty to all perſons and friends, to ſearch into
 thoſe matters. Thus we thought ourſelves under the
 ſtrongeſt obligations, to make all the enquiry in our
 power, into the true ſtate of the Indian claims, whe-
 ther or not ſuch care had been taken to purchaſe
 and pay them for the lands, as the proprietaries
 agents had conſtantly aſſerted. The right of many of
 us who hold large tracts of land under the firſt ſet-
 tlers, the governor's repeated declarations, both in
 public and private, that thoſe matters ſhould be honeſt-
 ly and fully enquired into, and the Indians injuncti-
 ons, that this ſhould be done not only by the perſons
 thus complained of, or their agents, but by others
 likewiſe intereſted therein, united in engaging our
 particular attention, and gave us a reaſonable proſpect
 of meeting with the governor's approbation; and
 though the ſecretary refuſed to permit us to pro-
 ceed therein, by inſpecting the records in his office,
 we ſtill had cauſe to think our farther application, to
 the neceſſary and important concern of regaining
 peace, was not contrary to the governor's inclination,
 as on our informing him of our intention to attend
 the treaty at Lancaſter, and our willingneſs to contri-
 bute towards the expenſes of the preſent to be given
 to the Indians there, the governor with the utmoſt
 readineſs expreſſed his approbation of our propoſal;
 and we are not conſcious of having at that treaty or
 ſince, given the leaſt occaſion for the alteration of
 his conduct towards us; which from the answer now
 received,

received, and the conversation consequent thereon, we have occasion to observe.

We have no views inconsistent with the honour of our gracious king, and the interest of our country, both which we sincerely endeavour to promote; we have heartily desired that people of every denomination in the province, would unite in the same good purpose, and particularly in this business, that the same harmony and good understanding, which subsisted between the first settlers of the province and the natives, might be revived and maintained, and we have happily succeeded with several religious societies, who have raised funds, and are ready to apply them towards restoring peace: and if the complaints of the Indians appear to be just, and the proprietaries and their agents should refuse to make them such satisfaction as in justice they ought to have, rather than the lives of our fellow subjects should be sacrificed, their properties destroyed, and so large a part of the king's dominions laid waste, they will freely join with us, in contributing towards the satisfying such just claims of the Indians, or at least to pacify them, till the immediate authority of the king, of whose justice and paternal care we have not the least doubt, can be interposed, and justice, equity, and mercy be again restored and maintained amongst us.

And if we are now so happy, as to convince the governor of the integrity of our intentions and conduct, we shall have reason to hope, he will concur with us, in taking the first opportunity of convincing the nobleman he has named, that it must be from some unjust representations, that he was induced to think, "we had presumed to treat with foreign princes, or by acting as mediators, between the government and an independent people, invaded the king's prerogative royal." We apprehend our duty to God and the king, have engaged us in this business and some of the good effects thereof have already appeared; we therefore now again offer the governor,

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APPEN. governor, to contribute something considerable to-
 No. II. wards the present, necessary to be made to the Indians
 Pennsylva- at the ensuing treaty, and by our personal attendance
 ma. to improve the confidence and good opinion these
 1757. people have of us, to the public benefit.

Should the governor persist in refusing to accept our present; we assure him, we shall not by any part of our conduct, give any just occasion to charge us with a disrespectful conduct towards him, and we desire our attendance at the treaty may not be considered as such. The business to be transacted there, is of so much consequence to the lives, liberties, and properties of the people of this province, that should we omit to attend there, and depend on the governor and the king's agent, receiving all their information on this important occasion, from the proprietaries agents and others, who have for some years past been concerned in the transacting Indian affairs, we should be deficient of our duty as christians and Englishmen, denominations we hold more dear to us, than any other titles or appellations whatsoever.

Signed on behalf and by appointment of the said trustees and treasurer, by

Philadelphia, 14th }
 of seventh month, }
 1757.

ABEL JAMES, Clerk.

The next day after the delivery of the foregoing address to the governor, the same committee who presented it, waited on him by direction to inform him of their intention to print it, and requested the governor to acquaint them, whether he had any objections to their also printing his answer to their first verbal application to him; about three hours after, he sent them the two following answers.

Philadelphia,

Philadelphia, 15th July, 1757, APPEN.
12 o'Clock. No. II.
Pensylva-
nia.

(Copy)

1757.

Gentlemen,

As you know I am desired and most strictly enjoined not to suffer any particular body or society to concern themselves in treaties with Indians, or on any pretence to give presents to them, it is out of my power to permit your presents to be given. I shall once more repeat my advice; you would do well to decline appearing at the ensuing treaty in a body; your attendance at treaties as a distinct society, having given great offence to the ministry.

WILLIAM DENNY.

To Mr. Israel Pemberton,
and the other Gentlemen.

Philadelphia, 15th July, 1757,
2 o'Clock.

(Copy)

Gentlemen,

Your address, in some parts of it, which relate to transactions that have passed since my administration, misrepresents several important facts, and contains some reflection on the conduct of the proprietaries, and their agents here, in managing the affairs of the Indians, which I hope will be found to be without the least foundation. I cannot therefore conceive it reasonable, or proper at this time, for you to print it; especially when it is considered, that the publishing it may tend to inflame the minds of the Indians, and obstruct the business of the ensuing treaty at Easton, where the complaints made by them will be
fully

APPEND. fully and impartially heard, and I hope finally accommodated.
 No. II.
 Pennsylvania.

WILLIAM DENNY.

1757.

To Mr. Israel Pemberton,
 and the other Gentlemen.

On consideration of which they sent him the following address.

May it please the governor,

Nothing less than a regard to the public interest would engage us to decline fully complying with the governor's advice, not to attend the ensuing Indian treaty; though we have reason to believe the proprietaries instructions to the governor on this occasion are grounded on some false and unjust informations sent from hence.

Our application this day was to desire the governor would be so kind as to inform us, whether he had any objections to our printing his answer, in which the earl of Halifax is said to have called the Indians "foreign reign princes and an independent people," but the answer the governor has now been pleased to send us relates solely to our address; as it is contrary to our intention—to misrepresent any transaction before or since the governor's administration; we shall esteem it a favour to have those parts pointed out; which the governor thinks in any respect exceptionable.

What we have said concerning the proprietaries and their agents is grounded on the public records—The governor's refusing to consent to accept of our contribution, or our offer of attending the treaty has given much encouragement to the adversaries of the peace of the province, to repeat their malevolent assertions and calumnies against us; but to manifest our regard to the public interest, to be greater than to our private characters; we shall for a few days suspend the printing of our address, that there may be

no

no possibility of charging us by the publication “ with APPEN.
 “ inflaming the minds of the Indians.” No. II.
 Pennsylvania.

Signed by appointment, and on behalf of the trustees and treasurer of the friendly association—for regaining and preserving peace with the Indians by pacific measures. 1757.

15th of 7th month,
 1757.

ABEL JAMES, Clerk.

A P P E N D I X, No. III.

Abstract from the Report of the Committee of Council, appointed to enquire into the Complaints of the Indians at the Treaty at Easton, the 8th of November, 1756.

To William Denny, Esq. Lieutenant Governor, &c. 1756.
 of the Province of Pennsylvania, and Counties of New-Castle, Kent and Suffex on Delaware.

Upon the whole it is very evident to us; and so we presume it must appear to all unprejudiced persons, that there is not the least shadow of foundation for any part of the complaint made by Teedyuscung, on behalf of the Indians against the proprietaries, we must therefore attribute his exhibiting that groundless and false charge against them to some undue influence, or to the difficulty he was under to invent any other plausible pretext for the cruel murders and horrid devastations committed by them on our back inhabitants, and for their base ungrateful breach of faith, and the many treaties made, and so solemnly and frequently renewed with us, even so lately as the spring before they committed those shocking murders and cruelties on our borders: and we cannot but think that, instead of this false cause which Teedyuscung has thought fit to assign for their taking part with the enemy against us, he might with greater

APPEN. truth have mentioned that, of our refusing, or neglecting (though so frequently and earnestly requested) to offer them protection, and give them the hatchet, and to join, and go out with them against the French, as we have before observed; but the people who have since that time appeared so indefatigably industrious to engross all the management of the Indians to themselves (in which your honour must be sensible as well as we, they have but too well succeeded) were chiefly the same who made up a great majority of the assembly, at the time when the house from their avowed religious principles, or from what other motives they best know, refused, or declined to concur with the governor in giving the hatchet to, and joining with those Indians against the enemy: and as they cannot but be conscious, that they justly deserve, and must have incurred great blame on that account, if the Indians should have given that for the reason of their joining with the French against us: we are better able to account for these people being so numerous at all the late Indian treaties, and upon all occasions so very forward and anxious to ingratiate themselves with the Indians, and for Teedyuscung's choosing to offer these imaginary reasons for his quarrel with us, rather than the true one.

We are, Sir,

Your most humble Servants,

LYNFORD LARDNER, &c.

H I S T O R Y

OF THE

PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

B O O K VII.

From the beginning of the present Reign
to the Year 1764.

C H A P. I.

George III. succeeds to the Throne.—Address to him.—Address to the Princess Dowager of Wales.—Francis Hart is prosecuted by Mary Jerom for reading a Testimony of Denial.—Address on the Peace.—Account of John Goodwin.

GEORGE II. was succeeded by his grand-son George III. our present sovereign, son to Frederick, late prince of Wales, who died in the year 1751, greatly and generally lamented, as he was generally beloved. Addresses to the young king, being sent up from all quarters, the people called Quakers in London, also drew up, and appointed a deputation to wait upon the king with the following address.

M m 2

To

C H A P.
I.
1760.

CHAP. To George III. King of Great Britain and the
1. Dominions thereunto belonging.

1760.

The humble Address of his Protestant Subjects
the People called Quakers.

May it please the King,

‘ Deeply affected with the sudden and sorrowful event, that leads our fellow-subjects with condolence to the throne, we beg leave to express the sympathy we feel on this occasion.

‘ Justly sensible of the favour and protection we have enjoyed during the late mild and happy reign, and impressed with the warmest sentiments of duty and gratitude to our deceased sovereign, we pay this tribute of unaffected grief to the memory of the father and friend of his people.

‘ We have abundant reason to acknowledge the goodness of Almighty God, for continuing to this period a life of such importance to the welfare of these kingdoms; a period when we behold a prince endowed with qualities that add lustre to a crown, formed by tuition and example to protect the liberties of his people, ascending the British throne; and in the earliest acts of power, giving the most ample demonstration of his royal regard for piety and virtue.

‘ Ever faithful and zealously affected to thy illustrious house, though differing in sentiments and conduct from others of our fellow-subjects, we embrace this opportunity to crave thy indulgence and protection, and beg leave
‘ to

‘ to assure the king that our dissent proceeds
 ‘ not from a contumacious disregard to the
 ‘ laws, to custom or authority, but from motives
 ‘ to us purely conscientious. C H A P.
I.
1760.

‘ The same religious principles that produce
 ‘ this dissent, we trust, through divine assistance,
 ‘ will continue to engage us as it always hath
 ‘ done since we were a people, to exert what-
 ‘ ever influence we may be possessed of in pro-
 ‘ moting the fear of God, the honour of the
 ‘ king, and the prosperity of his subjects.

‘ May the Almighty bless thy endeavours to
 ‘ put a stop to the effusion of blood, and render
 ‘ thee the happy instrument of restoring peace
 ‘ and tranquillity.

‘ May sacred and unerring wisdom be thy
 ‘ guide, adorn thee with every virtue, and
 ‘ crown thee with every blessing; that future
 ‘ ages may commemorate the happiness of thy
 ‘ reign with grateful admiration.

Signed on behalf of the said people in
 London, the 1st of 12th month, 1760, by 220
 friends.

The Answer.

‘ This dutiful and loyal address is very ac-
 ‘ ceptable to me, and you may depend on my
 ‘ protection.’

They also presented an address to his mother,
 the princess of Wales, viz.

May it please the Princess Dowager of Wales.

‘ We the people called Quakers, beg leave
 ‘ to testify our grief for the loss we have sustain-

‘ ed

CHAP. I. 1760. ed by the decease of our late gracious sovereign; duty as well as gratitude for the favours we enjoyed during his long and happy reign, claim our unfeigned regard to his memory, and to every part of the royal family our most grateful attachment.

‘As the afflictions that befall them very deeply affect us, so we share in the blessings they enjoy, and we sincerely rejoice at the happy accession of thy son, our sovereign, to the throne of these kingdoms.’

‘The noble proofs he has already given of great and illustrious qualities, sufficiently point out how much we are indebted to a mother’s early care in his education.’

‘It will we trust, be our constant endeavour to manifest our dutiful affection to the prince, and our cheerful obedience and fidelity to the king, by a conduct becoming our religious profession. May the Almighty pour down his choicest blessings on every branch of the royal family; may they be regarded as the ornaments of the present age, and as examples of virtue in succeeding generations.’

To which she returned an answer, as nearly as can be recollected, as follows.

‘I am much obliged to you for your kind attention to me and my family.’

1761.
Francis
Hart prosecuted by
Mary
Jerom.

A case occurs in this year, whereby the validity of the discipline of this society was brought to a legal trial, an occurrence of which I know no other instance. Mary Jerom, a young woman of Nottingham, who had been educated by her parents

parents in this society, and by them left in possession of a considerable property, having been in various parts of her conduct, very inconsistent with a life of self-denial, and the religious principles of this people, and for some time mostly neglected the attendance of the meetings of divine worship; and as wrong conduct is frequently attended with or productive of erroneous sentiment, she had also imbibed erroneous notions, contrary to scripture doctrine; wherefore her conduct came under the cognizance of friends of Nottingham monthly meeting. According to the salutary discipline of the society, they appointed friends to pay her religious visits, to use endeavours in gospel love to inform and reclaim her; but she seems to have been lifted up in her mind above the reception of advice. The labour of love extended to her proved ineffectual, she rejected their admonition, and persisted in the same line of conduct, and justified herself therein. The meeting therefore, after a deliberate consideration of the case in all its circumstances, thought it necessary to bear a testimony of their disunity with her said sentiments and conduct; which being drawn up, approved and authenticated, was ordered to be published in the customary way. It was accordingly read after the time of worship in the meeting-house of Nottingham, by Francis Hart, clerk of the monthly meeting, and a copy thereof handed to her a few days after.

The high spirit of this female was so mortified and provoked by this act of discipline, that instead of reflecting on her own conduct, which had made it necessary to preserve consistency, and prevent confusion in the society; depending
upon

CHAP. upon her abundance, she formed a resolution to
 I. obtain satisfaction, as far as money could
 1761. effect it.

First, upon an affidavit of the publication thereof by Francis Hart, by reading the same, &c. she moved the court of King's Bench for an information against him for a libel, but the court, looking upon it as a case by no means proper for such a prosecution, asked the counsellor who moved it, if he was really in earnest, and upon his affirmative reply, rejected the motion, and refused to grant a rule even to shew cause.

Although disappointed in this first application the said Mary Jerom desisted not from prosecuting her purpose. For on the 12th of 3d month, 1762, she preferred an indictment for a libel against Francis Hart, at the assizes at Nottingham, grounded on the publication of the said paper in the manner above stated, and having prevailed with the grand jury to find the bill, to which Hart pleaded not guilty, the cause was tried at Nottingham the 30th of 3d month, 1762, before judge Clive, when it was insisted by Francis Hart's council, that the paper in question was not a libel, (according to the legal definition of a libel laid down in Hawke) being only an ordinary and usual act of church discipline, according to the rules of the religious society to which the said Mary Jerom the prosecutrix had belonged, and that what was called a publication of it, was nothing more than a compliance with the said rules, without any malice in Francis Hart towards the prosecutrix, or intent to blacken her reputation or expose her to public hatred, contempt or ridicule. And the judge in his charge to the jury declared

ed as his opinion, that the paper in question (notwithstanding the endeavours used in framing the indictment to extract scandal out of it, by means of forced constructions, with a view to make it a libel) did not really contain such scandal, nor did it, under the circumstances in which it appeared to the court, amount to a libel. C H A P.
I.
1762.

Notwithstanding which, the jury after going out of court, and deliberating about three hours upon the matter, brought in their verdict, finding the defendant guilty, contrary to the general expectation of those who were present at the trial, who from the judge's charge to the jury were persuaded that he would have been acquitted.

Neither could the judge forbear expressing his surprize when the jury returned him their verdict (which was at his lodgings, the court being adjourned) and to shew them that he differed in sentiment with them, he told them he would take care the fine should be very small. Francis Hart finding himself greatly aggrieved by this verdict, did, by advice of his counsel on the 10th of 11th month, 1762, move the court of King's Bench for a new trial. On hearing the nature of the cause opened by his counsel which was confirmed by the judge, who tried the cause, who added his dissatisfaction at the verdict found by the jury, the court ordered the prosecutrix's counsel, serjeant Hewit, if he had any cause to shew against the motion he should urge it then, for that they would not give so much countenance to the prosecution, as to make a rule to shew cause; and accordingly the court made an absolute rule for a new trial. Immediately upon which serjeant Hewit came out

CHAP. I.
1762. out of the court, and told two friends then present, that if the plaintiff would be advised by him, he would take care the defendant or his friends should have no further trouble; and, as far as appears, there was no further procedure in the matter.

The injudicious and illegal verdict of the Nottingham jury in this case might have been productive of very troublesome consequences to the society, if Francis Hart and his friends had quietly submitted under it. But the judgment of the King's Bench both before and after the trial, exhibiting a clear evidence that in the concurring opinion of the justices of that court, the writing in question, under its circumstances, was not a libel; but as this society was legally tolerated, and as every orderly society civil or religious must have some common principles and rules of conduct, as external marks of discrimination between those who are members and those who are not, the simple declaration that any person for the causes specified had forfeited his or her membership therein was not only no libel, but requisite to the well ordering of any society. This judgment of the principals of the law prevented this high spirited woman from carrying her resentment to the length she designed, to oblige the monthly meeting of Nottingham to erase all their proceedings in her case. Her counsellor, most probably, had informed her that in case of a new trial it would be likely to go against her, and if she did not give up the cause, it must go on.

The final termination of this affair did not only release this innocent and worthy man from further trouble and perplexity; but had a beneficial

facial tendency to discourage some others from similar proceedings. C H A P.
I.

The nation had been for several years engaged in a war with France, which was not yet terminated, when the present king ascended the throne, but was carried on for a year or two longer against France and Spain in conjunction. It was at last terminated by a treaty of peace concluded at Paris, the 10th of 2d month, 1763. In consequence whereof friends at their ensuing yearly meeting thought it expedient to present an address to the king, and appointed a committee to draw one up, which being done, was presented to the king by a deputation of said meeting, and read by John Fothergill, who introduced it with the following preface.

“ I think myself happy in being appointed
“ once more to convey the sentiments of the
“ people called Quakers to the king, and at
“ the same time to have it in my power to ac-
“ quaint him, that the address which I beg
“ leave to offer to the king, was proposed and
“ solemnly and unanimously agreed to in a
“ very large assembly of the aforesaid people;
“ the only difficulty attending it being the choice
“ of terms sufficiently strong, in which to ex-
“ press our duty and affection.”

To George III. King of Great Britain and the
Dominions thereunto belonging.

The humble Address of his Protestant Subjects
the People called Quakers.

May it please the King,

‘ Being met in this our annual assembly from
‘ various parts of Great Britain and Ireland,
‘ for the worship of Almighty God, and the
promotion

C H A P.

I.

1763.

‘ promotion of piety and virtue, we embrace
 ‘ the opportunity which the restoration of peace
 ‘ affords us, to testify our affection to thy royal
 ‘ person and family, and our dutiful submission
 ‘ to thy government.

‘ To a people professing that the use of arms
 ‘ is to them unlawful; a people who reverence
 ‘ the glorious gospel declaration of good will to
 ‘ men, and fervently wish for the universal
 ‘ establishment of peace, its return must be
 ‘ highly acceptable.

‘ To stop the effusion of blood, to ease the
 ‘ burden of thy people, and terminate the cala-
 ‘ mities that affect so large a part of the globe,
 ‘ we are persuaded were thy motives to effect
 ‘ the present pacification; motives so just in
 ‘ themselves, so full of benevolence and humi-
 ‘ lity, demand our united and cordial appro-
 ‘ bation.

‘ May the sovereign of the universe, who
 ‘ created all nations of one blood, dispose the
 ‘ minds of princes by such examples, to learn
 ‘ other means of reconciling their jarring inter-
 ‘ ests and contentions, than by the ruin of coun-
 ‘ tries and destruction of mankind.

‘ The proofs we have received of thy royal
 ‘ condescension and indulgence, the lasting im-
 ‘ pressions of gratitude to the memory of the
 ‘ kings of thy illustrious house, fill our hearts at
 ‘ this time with the warmest sentiments of affec-
 ‘ tion and duty.

‘ Strongly impressed by such sentiments we
 ‘ return to our respective habitations, with full
 ‘ purpose to cultivate as much as in us lies, a
 ‘ spirit of harmony and concord, so essentially
 ‘ necessary to the dignity of the crown and hap-
 ‘ piness of the subject. May God, the source
 ‘ of

‘ of every blessing, the fountain of every excellence, ever graciously direct thy steps and preserve thee long to rule over thy extensive dominions, with that wisdom, moderation and equity, which effectually secure to princes the cheerful obedience of their people, and transmit their names with deserved honour to posterity.’

CHAP.
I.
1763.

To which the king was pleased to return the following answer.

‘ These repeated assurances of your affection to my person and family, and of your duty to my government, are agreeable to me and cannot fail to insure to you the continuance of my protection.’

In the year 1763, died John Goodwin of Eskyrgoch in Montgomeryshire, North Wales, a man of a low station in the world, yet an eminent minister of the gospel, being instrumental to turn many from darkness to light, and from the power of satan to the power of God; so that he might well be numbered among the valiants of Israel, and has justly been esteemed one of the principal worthies of our age.

His father and mother were both convinced of truth about the same time, and received it in the love of it. At that time his father was clerk to the parish and master of the free-school thereof; but upon his joining with friends, and giving up faithfully to divine conviction, he was turned out of both these places, and obliged to have recourse to hard labour, wherein his mother heartily joined; but John, their eldest child,

CHAP. I. child, then well grown toward the state of a youth, not understanding their case, thought them fools to turn Quakers, and resolved he would not be like them in that; nor did they offer any compulsion to him therein. But their prayers, put up to the Lord for him, were manifestly answered, and they had in their son the comfort they desired. At this time friends were grown numerous in Wales; but soon after, by the encouragement given by William Penn, most of the friends in some parts of that principality removed and settled in Pennsylvania, and amongst the rest John's father and mother, with most of their children. From inclination, he would have removed with them; but a higher power directed his stay in his native land; and to that he gave up father and mother and every thing. This account of John Goodwin is principally taken from the writings of a friend lately deceased*, who received it from his own mouth. The great favours of the Lord to him, he recounted to the following purport,

“ When the Lord pointed out poor Wales
 “ as a field of labour for me, he promised that
 “ if I was faithful to him in it, he would be
 “ with me and favour me therein; and now I
 “ have in my heart a testimony for him in my
 “ old age, that he hath abundantly made good
 “ his promise to me, both outwardly and in-
 “ wardly, far beyond what at that day I could
 “ have ever expected.”

In his early days he lived and maintained his wife and family by the labour of his hands,
 on

* See the life of James Gough.

on a farm of four pounds a year; but at length C H A P.
I.
1763. was enabled to purchase it, and so improved it, as that it became worth six pounds a year. The first journey he travelled in the ministry, he had then got of clear money about forty shillings; and he was free to spend it (if there was occasion) in the Lord's service, knowing that he could enable him to get more.

When he first began to entertain travelling friends, he had but one bed, which he left to them, he and his wife taking up their lodging in the stable.

He filled up the several duties of life with good repute, being an affectionate husband, a tender father and a good neighbour. He was of an upright life and conversation, a fervent lover of the cause of truth, and zealous for the support of its testimony in all its branches.

He continued fresh and lively to old age, and about three weeks before his decease, at the last public meeting which he attended, he was enabled to bear a testimony in the life and power of truth, in a very remarkable manner, and after meeting said, "He was fully clear of the people, and released from that service;" signifying, "his time here was near a conclusion, and that now after a painful affliction, he should soon be at rest with the righteous, for which he longed," yet said, "Let patience have its perfect work."

During his illness he appeared to be in an heavenly frame of mind, abounding with praises to God for his continued mercies, often expressing "How valuable is the enjoyment of the love of God on a dying bed." He desired his love might be remembered to his brethren and sisters in Christ, being sensible and clear in
his

CHAP. his understanding to the last hour, he quietly
 I. departed this life, as one falling into a deep
 1763. sleep, the 7th of 12th month, 1763, aged 82
 years.

“ * The foregoing narrative of the life of
 “ this worthy elder may convey profitable in-
 “ struction to every class of readers whether of
 “ high or low degree. To the former a lesson
 “ of instruction how humbly thankful they
 “ ought to be to the gracious Giver of all good
 “ things for his extensive bounty to them, when
 “ they consider this truly good man, in circum-
 “ stances, which we should reckon mean in-
 “ deed, and a manner of living suitable to his
 “ circumstances, bearing a lively and grateful tes-
 “ timony to the goodness, mercy and truth of
 “ the Lord in his gracious dealings with him.
 “ Also when he dedicates his little all (in faith)
 “ to his Lord’s service, doth he not in the silent
 “ and reaching language of example, convey this
 “ intelligence to thy soul, who art blessed with
 “ abundance? Go thou and do likewise; ho-
 “ nour the Lord with thy substance, and the
 “ first fruits of thine increase; love mercy, and
 “ walk humbly with thy God; deeply ponder-
 “ ing in thy heart, how much owest thou to the
 “ Lord?

“ And those of low circumstances from
 “ hence may learn, that happiness is not con-
 “ fined to any particular station of life; but is
 “ the result of observing the law of God in the
 “ inward parts, being (as it prescribes) content
 “ with the things which we have, not minding
 “ high things, but reducing our desires to the
 “ level of our station in life, that so we may fill
 “ it

* Life of James Gough.

“ it with propriety. If we thus walk by the
 “ unerring rule of truth, though we be esteem-
 “ ed poor in this world, we shall be rich in
 “ faith, and, with this good man, enjoy, in the
 “ obscurity of the humble cottage what palaces
 “ too seldom afford, solid content, the consol-
 “ ation of a conscience void of offence, and in
 “ reward of well doing, the peace of God that
 “ passeth the understandings of men. The
 “ most splendid and extensive earthly posses-
 “ sions, when laid in the balance against du-
 “ rable possessions like these, are indeed as no-
 “ thing and lighter than vanity.”

C H A P.
 I.
 1763.

C H A P. II.

P E N S Y L V A N I A.

A Spirit of Enmity remains in Pennsylvania.—Account of the Indians at Conestogoe.—These Indians address the Governor.—Six of them are murdered in their Huts.—Proclamation is issued for taking the Murderers.—Fourteen Indians are murdered in the Work-house at Lancaster.—A second Proclamation.—Other friendly Indians are removed to Philadelphia for Protection.—Further Mischief is intended.—Governor consults the Inhabitants of the City.—Rioters come within six Miles of Philadelphia.—Governor sends some to speak with them.—They deliver a Remonstrance and return Home.—Address of the People called Quakers to the Governor.

I R E L A N D.

Death of the Author of this History.—Testimony concerning the Author.

C H A P.
II.

1763.
Spirit of
enmity
remains
in Pennsyl-
vania.

THE affairs of this society in England furnish few or no remarkable materials for history at this period of time; but in Pennsylvania a spirit of bitter enmity against this people was still retained and disseminated by a restless party, who, as hath been before remarked, had for some time past been endeavouring to raise tumults in this state. The honest endeavours of friends to promote a reconciliation with the
Indians

Indians and the success attending them, gave a new edge to the acrimony of their opposers, because these measures thwarted the views of these men, who, without regard to the public good or the principles of christianity, wished the continuance of public disturbances to advance their private ends. A mutinous and lawless spirit was by them industriously fomented amongst the most ignorant and ferocious inhabitants of the frontiers, whereby they were instigated to the commission of a crime of the utmost turpitude in itself, and utterly detestable by all moderate and humane persons, as a heinous violation of the laws of christianity, morality and hospitality.

* A small body of Indians, the remains of a tribe of the six nations, were settled at a place called Conestogoe. On the first arrival of the English in Pennsylvania, messengers from this tribe came to welcome them, and brought them presents of venison, corn and skins; and the whole tribe entered into a treaty of friendship with the first proprietor William Penn (as hath been noticed in its place.) This treaty was to last as long as the sun should shine, or the waters run in the rivers. The treaty had been frequently renewed, and the chain brightened, as they express it, from time to time. As their lands by degrees came mostly into the hands of the white people by successive purchases, the proprietor assigned them lands on the manor of Conestogoe, to be re-

CHAP.
II.
1, 63.

Account of
the Indians
at Cones-
togoe.

N n 2

tained

* Narrative of the late massacres in Lancaster of a number of Indians, friends of this province, printed in 1764.

CHAP.
II.
1763

tained for their own use and habitation. There they lived many years in friendship with their European neighbours and their descendants, by whom they were regarded with affection for their peaceful and inoffensive behaviour.

This tribe was greatly diminished in number from the time when the European planters first arrived in their neighbourhood. There remained in their town no more than twenty persons, viz. seven men, five women, and eight children. This little society continued the custom, which they had begun when they were a more numerous body, of addressing every new governor, and every descendant of the first proprietor, welcoming him to the province, assuring him of their fidelity, and requesting a continuance of that favour and protection, they had hitherto experienced. They had sent up an address of the same kind to the present governor, John Penn, as he had lately succeeded William Denny in the government, who, I presume, might have resigned the office, which must have become very uneasy to him, pressed on one hand by the apprehended exigences of the state; on the other, cramped by proprietary instructions, and involved thereby in disagreeable altercations with the assembly, who entertained a confirmed jealousy of these instructions and of the political views of the proprietors to take advantage of the present difficult and distressed circumstances of the province, to wrest from them and their constituents some of their chartered privileges, and to invade their constitutional rights.

The last address was but just delivered, and the new governor scarce settled in his government,

Conestogoe
Indians
address the
governor.

ment, when on the 14th of 12th month, 1763, CHAP.
 fifty-seven men from some of the frontier settle- 11.
 ments, who had projected the destruction of 1763.
 this little community, came all well mounted,
 and armed with muskets, hangers and hatchets
 to Conestogoe manor, having travelled through
 the country in the night. There they surround-
 ed the small village of Indian huts, and just at
 the dawn of day broke into them all at once.
 Only two men three women and a young boy
 were found at home, the rest being absent about
 their lawful occasions. These poor defenceless
 creatures were immediately fired upon, stabbed
 and hatchetted to death. The good Shæhæs *
 among the rest they cut to pieces in his bed:
 all of them were scalped and otherwise horribly
 mangled; their huts were set on fire and most of
 them burned down. The assassins then rode
 off, and in small parties, by different roads went
 home.

Six of the
 Indians
 are mur-
 dered in
 their huts.

The

* Shæhæs (as described in the narrative) was a very
 old man, having assisted at the second treaty, held
 with the Indians by William Penn, in 1701, and ever
 since continued a faithful and affectionate friend to the
 English, he is said to have been an exceeding good
 man, considering his education, being of a most kind
 and benevolent temper. It is said that he being be-
 fore told, that it was to be feared, that some English
 might come from the frontiers into the country, and
 murder him and his people, he replied, "It is impos-
 sible: there are Indians indeed in the woods, who
 would kill me and mine, if they could get at us, for
 my friendship to the English; but the English will
 wrap me up in their match-coats, and secure me
 from all danger." How lamentably was he mis-
 taken!

C H A P.

II.

1763.

The tidings of this barbarous transaction filled the neighbouring white people, who were not abettors, with dismay and abhorrence. And the lamentations of the younger Indians, when they returned, and beheld the desolation and the butchered half burned bodies of their murdered parents and other relations, were excessive and affecting to the last degree.

The magistrates of Lancaster sent out to collect the remaining Indians, brought them into the town for their greater security against any further attempts; took them by the hand, and promised them protection. They were all put into the work-house, a strong building, as the place of greatest safety.

The governor issues a proclamation for apprehending the murderers.

The astonishing news of this dismal and disgraceful catastrophe soon reached Philadelphia; whereupon a proclamation was issued by the governor, charging all judges, magistrates, officers, civil and military, and all other liege subjects to make diligent search and inquiry after the authors and perpetrators of the said crime, their abettors and accomplices, and to use all possible means to apprehend and secure them in some of the public jails of the province, that they might be brought to their trials, and be proceeded against according to law.

Too many of the inhabitants of the town and county of Lancaster seeming rather to approve than discourage their sanguinary achievement, added audacious insolence to the wanton ferocity of these cruel men. So that neither the precaution of placing the Indians in a place of security, nor the proclamation issued by the governor intimidated them from prosecuting their wicked purpose in defiance of all justice, rule

rule and government. Having got intelligence that the remaining fourteen Indians were in the work-house of Lancaster, on the 27th of the same month, they entered that town (which is large and populous, containing several thousand inhabitants) fifty of them armed as before, dismounting, went directly to the work-house, by force broke open the door, and barbarously murdered all the Indians confined there, on their bended knees protesting their innocence and attachment to the English, and with uplifted hands imploring their lives; unarmed men; helpless women, and innocent infants—all murdered—in cold blood.

C H A P.
II.
1763
Fourteen
Indians
murdered
in the
work-
house at
Lancaster.

The rioters who committed this atrocious deed, in violation of all laws, human and divine, then mounted their horses, huzza'd in triumph, as if they had accomplished a laudable exploit, and rode off—unmolested. Although a number of the king's soldiers were then in the barracks there, whose officers declared they were ready to assist the magistrates, if they had been called upon, and, by their conduct afterwards manifested their willingness and ability to do so.

Upon this second massacre, a second proclamation was issued by the governor in the following terms. 1764.

“ Whereas on the twenty-second day of December last, I issued a proclamation for the apprehending and bringing to justice, a number of persons, who in violation of the public faith, and in defiance of all law, had inhumanly killed six of the Indians who had lived in Conestogoe manor, for the course of
“ many

A second
proclamation
issued.

C H A P.

II.

1764.

“ many years, peaceably and inoffensively, un-
 “ der the protection of this government, on
 “ lands assigned to them for their habitation;
 “ notwithstanding which, I have received infor-
 “ mation that on the twenty-seventh of the same
 “ month, a large party of armed men again as-
 “ sembled and met together in a riotous and tu-
 “ multuous manner, in the county of Lan-
 “ caster, proceeded to the town of Lancaster,
 “ where they violently broke open the work-
 “ house, and butchered and put to death four-
 “ teen of the said Conestogoe Indians, men,
 “ women and children, who had been taken
 “ under the immediate care and protection of
 “ the magistrates of the said county, and lodged
 “ for their better security in the said work-
 “ house; till they should be more effectually
 “ provided for by order of the government.
 “ And whereas common justice loudly de-
 “ mands, and the laws of the land (upon the
 “ preservation of which not only the liberty
 “ and security of every individual, but the be-
 “ ing of the government itself depend) require
 “ that the above offenders should be brought
 “ to condign punishment; I have therefore, by
 “ and with the advice of the council, publish-
 “ ed this proclamation, and do hereby strictly
 “ charge and command all judges, justices,
 “ sheriffs, constables, officers civil and military,
 “ and all other his majesty’s faithful and liege
 “ subjects within this province, to make diligent
 “ search and inquiry after the authors and per-
 “ petrators of the said last mentioned offence,
 “ their abettors and accomplices, and that they
 “ use all possible means to apprehend and se-
 “ cure them in some of the public jails of
 “ this

“ this province, to be dealt with according to
 “ law.”

CHAP.
 II.

1764.

“ And I do hereby further promise and en-
 “ gage that any person or persons, who shall
 “ apprehend and secure, or cause to be appre-
 “ hended and secured any three of the ring-lead-
 “ ers of the said party, and prosecute them to
 “ conviction, shall have and receive for each,
 “ the public reward of two hundred pounds ;
 “ and any accomplice, not concerned in the
 “ immediate shedding the blood of the said
 “ Indians, who shall make discovery of any or
 “ either of the said ring-leaders, and apprehend
 “ and prosecute them to conviction, shall, over
 “ and above the said reward, have all the
 “ weight and influence of the government, for
 “ obtaining his majesty’s pardon for his of-
 “ fence.”

“ Given under my hand and the great
 “ seal of the said province, at Phi-
 “ ladelphia, the second day of
 “ January, in the fourth year of
 “ his majesty’s reign, and in the
 “ year of our Lord, one thousand
 “ seven hundred and sixty-four.

JOHN PENN.

By his honour’s command
 JOSEPH SHIPPEN, junior, sec.

GOD save the KING.

These proclamations produced no discovery ;
 the murderers and their partisans having given
 out such threatenings against those who disap-
 proved

CHAP. II. proved their proceedings, that the whole country seemed to be terrified, and not one durst discover what he knew; even letters from thence were unsigned, in which any dislike to these shocking enormities was expressed.

1764.

Neither doth it appear that proper measures were taken by the magistrates in that county for the purpose of discovering the criminals. Indeed whether it proceeded from fear or favour, the conduct of these magistrates seems highly reprehensible; to confine the poor creatures under promise of protection, and suffer them to be butchered, as before their faces, in violation of their good faith; and make no effort either to give them the protection which they had promised, or to apprehend and bring to justice the perpetrators; either of which one might presume they might have effected.

Having proceeded so far with impunity, it increased their insolence; filled with rage against all Indians, they seemed determined to destroy them in like manner, in defiance of the government itself, they prevailed with others to join them, with a view to increase the number of offenders, so much as to render it dangerous or difficult to bring them to justice. There yet remained a number of friendly Indians, who had put themselves under the immediate protection of government, by whose orders they were removed to the city of Philadelphia, from the plantations, on which most of them had lived many years under the care of the Moravians, by whose missionaries they had been brought to the profession of the christian religion with them, and lived soberly and peaceably on the fruit of their own labour and industry.

Other friendly Indians are removed to Philadelphia for protection.

From

From the intelligence received from time to time of the design of the rioters to destroy these Indians in the barracks, it was resolved by government to remove them, first to the Province-island, as a place of greater safety; and afterwards to convey them out of the province, and commit them to the immediate care of Sir William Johnson, the king's agent for Indian affairs; and the general at New York. They were accordingly sent through the province of New Jersey as far as Amboy; but the governor of New York refusing them admittance into his province, they were soon after ordered to return to Philadelphia, and general Gage sending a number of soldiers for their protection on their return, they were lodged in the barracks under a guard.

The rioters enraged at their disappointment, as soon as they heard of the return of the Indians, of which they received early intelligence from their accomplices in the city, assembled again in numbers. Accounts were received of their proceedings, and breathing out threatenings of executing their barbarous intentions, not only against the Indians, but all that defended them, and particularly against some concerned in government, as well as sundry private persons.

On the 4th of the month, called February, 1764, the governor receiving information that the rioters were on their march towards the city, called the inhabitants together to consult them upon such measures as he thought advisable for preventing the intended mischief; numbers shewed more readiness than was expected to support his authority, and to oppose such a daring

C H A P.
II.
1764.

Further mischief is intended.

Governor consults with the inhabitants.

CHAP.

II.

1764

Rioters
come with-
in six miles
of Phila-
delphia.

daring insult offered to the government. About midnight succeeding the following day, fresh advice was received of their near approach, and precautions being taken to prevent their passing the ferries over the river, and a very heavy rain having raised the fords, retarded their march. They came down to Germantown, about six miles from Philadelphia, from whence they sent their spies into the city, to observe the conduct and preparations of the government against them; and by their intelligence finding they were likely to meet with a very different reception from that which they had experienced at Lancaster, they thought it safest to halt there, and return home without effecting their purpose. Possibly this account of these murders and riots may appear foreign to our subject, and thus far it is so; but the people called Quakers, although they were of a very contrary disposition, and could have no concern in such actions, yet they were very causelessly involved in the consequences. When the rioters came to Germantown, and found themselves frustrated in their designs, they dropped their menaces of destroying the Indians, and began to complain of grievances. A paper unsigned had been delivered to the governor, as from the rioters on their march, though it was doubted whether many of them were acquainted with the contents, and whether it was not rather the composition of some of their abettors.

Governor
sends some
persons to
meet them.

On the 7th of the month some persons by the governor's authority, went to meet them, and inquire into the reason of their tumultuous appearance. It appeared in the conference held with them, that these people were much de-
luded

cluded through invidious misrepresentations, which had raised their prejudice against the conduct of the government. In fine, their leaders engaged they should return home, two of them being agreed upon to represent the rest, in order to lay the grievances they pretended they were under before the governor, and the assembly then sitting.

C H A P.
II.
1764.
They deliver a remonstrance and return home.

A declaration of their intentions, I suppose, and a remonstrance of their grievances were presented to the legislature; and the meeting for sufferings at Philadelphia receiving information that the said declaration and remonstrance contained groundless reflections on the Quakers as a society, they applied to the governor, requesting a copy of each, which he readily granted; whereupon they agreed upon an address in answer thereto, which they presented to the governor as follows.

To John Penn, Esq. Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania.

The Address of the People called Quakers in the said Province.

May it please the Governor,

“ We acknowledge thy kind reception of our application for copies of the two papers presented to thee by some of the frontier inhabitants of this province, on the 6th and 13th instant, which we have perused and considered, and find several parts thereof are evidently intended to render us odious to our superiors,

Address of the people called Quakers to the governor.

C H A P.

II

1764.

“ riors, and to keep up a tumultuous spirit
 “ among the inconsiderate part of the people.

“ We therefore request thy favourable atten-
 “ tion to some observations which we appre-
 “ hend necessary to offer, to assert our inno-
 “ cence of the false charges, and unjust in-
 “ sinuations, thus invidiously propagated against
 “ us.

“ Our religious society hath been well known
 “ through the British dominions above an hun-
 “ dred years, and was never concerned in pro-
 “ moting or countenancing any plots or insur-
 “ rections against the government; but on the
 “ contrary, when ambitious men, thirsting for
 “ power, have embroiled the state in intestine
 “ commotions and bloodshed, subverting the
 “ order of government; our forefathers, by
 “ their public declarations, and peaceable con-
 “ duct, manifested their abhorrence of such
 “ traiterous proceedings; and notwithstanding
 “ they were often subjected to gross abuses in
 “ their characters and persons, and cruel im-
 “ prisonments, persecutions, and some of them
 “ to the loss of their lives, through the insti-
 “ gation of wicked and unreasonable men, they
 “ steadily maintained their profession, and acted
 “ agreeable to the principles of the true dis-
 “ ciples of Christ; and by their innocent peace-
 “ able conduct, having approved themselves
 “ faithful and loyal subjects, they obtained
 “ the favour of the government, and were by
 “ royal authority entrusted with many valua-
 “ ble rights and privileges, to be enjoyed by
 “ them and their successors, with the property
 “ they purchased in the soil of this province;
 “ which induced them to remove from their
 “ native

“ native land, with some of their neighbours of
 “ other religious societies, and at their own ex-
 “ pense, without any charge to the public, to
 “ encounter the difficulties of improving a wil-
 “ derness, in which the blessings of divine pro-
 “ vidence attended their endeavours beyond
 “ all human expectation; and from the first
 “ settling of the province, till within a few
 “ years past, both the framing and administra-
 “ tion of the laws were committed chiefly to
 “ men of our religious principles, under whom
 “ tranquillity and peace were preserved among
 “ the inhabitants, and with the natives. The
 “ land rejoiced, and every man was protected
 “ in his person and property, and in the full
 “ enjoyment of religious and civil liberty; but
 “ with grief and sorrow, for some years past,
 “ we have observed the circumstances of the
 “ province to be much changed, and that
 “ intestine animosities, and the desolating
 “ calamities of war, have taken place of tran-
 “ quillity and peace.

H A P.
 II.
 1764.

“ We have, as a religious society, ever care-
 “ fully avoided admitting matters immediately
 “ relating to civil government into our delibe-
 “ rations, farther than to excite and engage
 “ each other to demean ourselves as dutiful sub-
 “ jects to the king, with due respect to those in
 “ authority under him, and to live agreeable to
 “ the religious principles we profess, and to the
 “ uniform example of our ancestors, and to
 “ this end meetings were instituted, and are
 “ still maintained, in which our care and con-
 “ cern are manifested to preserve that discip-
 “ line and good order among us, which tend
 “ only to the promotion of piety and virtue;
 “ yet

CHAP. II. 1764. “ yet as members of civil society, services some-
 “ times occur which we do not judge expedi-
 “ ent to become the subject of the conside-
 “ ration of our religious meetings, and of this
 “ nature is the association formed by a number
 “ of persons in religious profession with us, of
 “ which on this occasion it seems incumbent on
 “ us to give some account to the governor, as
 “ their conduct is misrepresented, in order to
 “ calumniate and reproach us as a religious
 “ society, by the insinuations and slanders in
 “ the papers sent to the governor, and particu-
 “ larly in the unsigned declaration, on behalf
 “ of a number of armed men, on the sixth in-
 “ stant, then approaching the city, from distant
 “ parts of the province, to the disturbance of
 “ the public peace.

“ In the spring of the year 1756, the distress
 “ of the province being very great, and the de-
 “ solating calamities of a general Indian war
 “ apprehended, at the instance of the provin-
 “ cial interpreter Conrad Weiser, and with the
 “ approbation of governor Morris, some of us
 “ essayed to promote a reconciliation with the
 “ Indians and their endeavours being blessed
 “ with success, the happy effects thereof were
 “ soon manifest, and a real concern for the
 “ then deplorable situation of our fellow sub-
 “ jects on the frontiers prevailing, in order that
 “ they might be capable of rendering some ef-
 “ fectual service; they freely contributed con-
 “ siderable sums of money, and engaged others
 “ in like manner to contribute, so that about
 “ 5000*l.* was raised, in order to be employed
 “ for the service of the public, and chief part
 “ thereof hath been since expended in presents
 “ given

“ given at the public treaties (where they
 “ were sometimes delivered by the governors
 “ of this province, and at other times with
 “ their privity and permission) for promoting
 “ the salutary measures of regaining and con-
 “ firming peace with the Indians, and procuring
 “ the release of our countrymen in captivity;
 “ and thereby a considerable number have been
 “ restored to their friends; and we find that
 “ the measures thus pursued being made known
 “ to the king’s generals, who from time to
 “ time were here, and having been communi-
 “ cated by an address sent to the proprietaries of
 “ this province in England, appear, by their
 “ written answers, and other testimonials, to
 “ have received their countenance and appro-
 “ bation. This being the case, and the con-
 “ duct of those concerned in these affairs, evi-
 “ dently contrary to the intent and tendency of
 “ the assertion contained in the said unsigned
 “ declaration, pretended to be founded on the
 “ records of the county of Berks, we do not
 “ apprehend it necessary to say any more
 “ thereon, than that we are (after proper en-
 “ quiry) assured, that nothing of that kind is to
 “ be found on those records, and that the pri-
 “ vate minute made by Conrad Weiser, of a re-
 “ port he had received from two Indians, of a
 “ story they had heard from another Indian,
 “ pretending to be a messenger from the Ohio,
 “ does not mention any person whatever, nor
 “ contain the charges expressed in the decla-
 “ ration, and from the enquiry we have made,
 “ we find them groundless and unjust, and
 “ uttered with a view to amuse and inflame

CHAP. II. " the credulous, and to vilify and calumni-
ate us.

1764.

" The invidious reflection against " a sect
" that have got the political reins in their
" hands, and tamely tyrannize over the good
" people of this province;" though evidently
" levelled against us, manifests the authors of
" of these papers are egregiously ignorant of
" our conduct, or wilfully bent on misrepresent-
" ing us; it being known that as a religious
" body, we have by public advices, and private
" admonitions, laboured with, and earnestly de-
" sired, our brethren, who have been elected
" or appointed to public offices in the govern-
" ment for some years past, to decline taking
" upon them a task become so arduous, under
" our late and present circumstances; and that
" many have concurred with us in this resoluti-
" on is evident, by divers having voluntarily
" resigned their seats in the house of assembly,
" and by others having, by public advertise-
" ments signified their declining the service,
" and requesting their countrymen to choose
" others in their places, and that many have
" refused to accept of places in the executive
" part of the government. We are not con-
" scious that as Englishmen and dutiful subjects,
" we have ever forfeited our right of electing
" or being elected; but because we could serve
" no longer in those stations with satisfaction to
" ourselves, many of us have chosen to forbear
" the exercise of these rights, and wish a dispo-
" sition of a contrary nature was not so manifest
" in our adversaries.

" The accusation of our having been profuse
" to savages, and carefully avoiding to contri-

" bute

“ bute to the relief and support of the distressed
 “ families on the frontiers, who have abandon-
 “ ed their possessions, and fled for their lives, is
 “ equally invidious and mistaken; we very
 “ early and expeditiously promoted a subscrip-
 “ tion, and contributed to the relief of the dis-
 “ tresses of those who were plundered, and fled
 “ from their habitations in the beginning of the
 “ Indian war, which was distributed among
 “ them, in provisions and cloathing, and afford-
 “ ed a seasonable relief. Divers among us, in
 “ the city of Philadelphia, also contributed
 “ with others the last summer, and we are well
 “ assured that money was raised, and sent up by
 “ the members of our society in different parts
 “ of the country; and as soon as we were in-
 “ formed, that the greatest part of what had
 “ been voluntarily raised by the citizens of
 “ Philadelphia was nearly expended, a sub-
 “ scription was set on foot, to which several
 “ very generously contributed, and a large sum
 “ might soon have been raised, and was stop-
 “ ped only on account of the tumult which
 “ hath lately happened; and it hath been from
 “ our regard to our fellow subjects on the fron-
 “ tiers, and sympathy with their afflicting dis-
 “ tresses, and a concern for the general welfare
 “ of the province, that engaged our brethren
 “ to raise the money they applied to promote a
 “ pacification with the natives, and no separate
 “ views of interest to ourselves; but thus un-
 “ happily our most upright and disinterested in-
 “ tentions are misconstrued and perverted, to
 “ impose on the weak, and answer the pernici-
 “ ous schemes of the enemies of peace.

C H A P.

II.

1764

“ The eighth paragraph of the second paper, called the remonstrance, being chiefly answered by the foregoing observations, it may be necessary only to observe, on the malicious charge of “ abetting the Indian enemies, and “ keeping up a private intelligence with them,” “ which we can assure the governor is altogether “ false and groundless, and we do not know of “ any member of our society chargeable therewith; the transaction relating to the string “ (which they have called a belt of wampum) “ we find by letters from general Forbes, and “ other papers produced to us, was in consequence of a message sent by the king’s deputy “ agent to the Indians on the Ohio, in the name “ of Sir William Johnson, their brother Onas, “ and the descendants of the first settlers who “ came over with their antient brother William “ Penn; as also of Frederick Post’s being engaged by some members of our community “ to go on another message to these Indians, “ by the express orders of that general, who “ then commanded the king’s army, and with “ the concurrence of the governor of this province; but we do not approve or think it allowable for any private subject to carry on a “ correspondence, or treat with the enemies of the “ king and government, nor to engage in the “ transaction of any affairs of the government, “ without the privity and consent of those in “ authority over us.

“ We desire the governor to excuse our taking this opportunity of exculpating ourselves “ from another false accusation, industriously “ propagated, with a design to reproach us as “ a society; it having been reported, during the

“ the late commotion in this city, that some
 “ persons of our community had in the evening
 “ of the 6th instant, removed, from or near the
 “ barracks, six Indians, to an island in the river,
 “ nearly opposite the city, with a design to con-
 “ ceal them, and evade their being seen and
 “ examined by some of the people from the
 “ frontiers, and that an ex parte deposition of
 “ an apprentice boy was taken to that purpose;
 “ upon hearing which, some of us immediately
 “ requested to have the said boy and his master
 “ carefully examined before the mayor; in con-
 “ sequence thereof, both of them were enjoined
 “ and required by the recorder, and one of
 “ the aldermen, to appear before the mayor, in
 “ the morning of the 11th instant, at 11
 “ o’clock, but it appeared from the testimony
 “ of his master, that before the time appointed
 “ the boy absconded, and after diligent search
 “ is not since found. Wherefore the mayor,
 “ after the examination of the military officers
 “ (to whose care the Indians had been commit-
 “ ted) and of other witnesses relating to the
 “ matter, upon consideration thereof, and the
 “ circumstances attending the relation; first
 “ the alderman, before whom the deposition
 “ had been made, and afterwards the mayor
 “ publicly declared, they were convinced the
 “ accusation was utterly false and groundless.

“ It would be a tedious task for us to under-
 “ take to answer all the slanderous reports and
 “ misrepresentations, which have been spread,
 “ with a design to prejudice our characters,
 “ through the malice of some, and the igno-
 “ rance of others; but having the testimony of

“ ONT

C H A P.
 11.
 1764.

CHAP. II. 1764. “ our consciences to recur to for our innocence,
 “ we hope through divine assistance, we shall
 “ be enabled to bear reproaches; and, by the
 “ uprightness of our conduct, shew forth to the
 “ world, that we live in the fear of God, and
 “ pay the just returns of dutiful submission to
 “ the king, for the continuance of his paternal
 “ tenderness towards us; and that we are, as
 “ we have ever been, real friends to the
 “ government, and steadily desirous of acting
 “ agreeable to our stations, as members of
 “ civil society.

“ Signed on behalf, and by order of a com-
 “ mittee appointed to represent our religious
 “ society in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, at a
 “ meeting held in Philadelphia, the 25th of
 “ second month, 1764.”

SAMUEL EMLÉN, junior, Clerk.

The frontiers were mostly inhabited by emigrants from the north of Ireland and their descendants, and Germans; the latter, though solicited, to their reputation, refused to join with, or have any concern in these iniquitous and tumultuous proceedings.

And, as the disposition and behaviour of the people called Quakers towards the Indians had been as to all others (and contrary to theirs) regulated by a strict regard to equity, morality and that religion that dictates peace on earth, and good will to men; the rioters looking upon it in an invidious light, and as reproaching their own too general vindictive temper and conduct,
 they

they went beyond all bounds of justice and truth in most abusive representations of that people, to whom and their predeceffors and principles, Penfylvania was principally indebted for its prosperity and population: all their conduct, public and private, was misconftrued with the ufual injustice of party rage.*

Soon after writing the foregoing, the author was feized with a fit of apoplexy, which in a few hours ended in his deceafe.—He attained to 70 years, and had been engaged during the laft eight years of his life in writing this hiftory.

CHAP.
II.
1764

1791.
Death of
the author
of this
work.

A Testimony from Lifburn Men's Meeting, concerning our deceafed friend JOHN GOUGH, read and approved in the Quarterly-Meeting for Ulfter, held at Moyallon the 18th of 2d Month, and in the National Half-year's Meeting in Dublin, 5th Month, 1792.

He was born at Kendal in Westmoreland, in the beginning of the year 1721, of parents profefling the truth, as held by us, the people called

* Nothing has been added to the copy left written by my father, except a few of the biographical accounts of deceafed friends, which he had propofed to be inferted. He intended to have concluded the work in this fourth volume, but from the number of original papers yet remaining, it feems impracticable. Thofe papers are now in my poffeffion, and fhall be carefully preferved, till fome friend may fee it his bufinefs to finifh it in a fifth volume.

Lifburn in Ireland, 5th
of fixth mo. 1792.

JOHN GOUGH, Junior.

CHAP.
II.

1791.

called Quakers, and by the information we have received concerning him, we find that from his youth he was much inclined to seriousness and thoughtfulness, being early made acquainted with the teachings of divine grace in his heart, and measurably attending thereto, he became an example of plainness, frugality and sobriety, in his apparel and conduct, and was thereby preserved from the evils and condemnable practices, into which too many of our youth by pursuing a contrary conduct, have unhappily fallen.

Having received an education suitable to qualify him for a schoolmaster, and being endowed with good natural parts, he was employed about the sixteenth year of his age as usher in a friend's school, at Pickwich in Wiltshire, in which station he continued four years, and then resigning his place, he removed into this kingdom.

In the year 1750, he settled in Dublin, where he remained about twenty four years, following the occupation of a schoolmaster. During his residence in that city, he approved himself a valuable member of society, having experienced through the sanctifying operation of the spirit of truth, a gradual advancement in the work of righteousness, as he grew in years, growing in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, he was thereby fitted for service, and being appointed to the office of an elder in the church, pretty shortly after his settlement there, he was found truly serviceable in his station amongst his brethren.

In

In the year 1774, he was induced by an apprehension of duty to remove into this neighbourhood, and undertook the care of a boarding school, about which period he was called forth into the more public work of the ministry, and approved himself in the exercise of his gift as an able minister, speaking the things that became sound doctrine, labouring abundantly in the fresh flowings forth of gospel love, for the exaltation of truth and the edification of the body. In the course of his ministerial labours, he visited the province of Munster and sundry parts of Leinster, and once, viz. in the year 1785, several counties in England, he also sundry times attended the yearly meeting in London, and on all these occasions we have reason to believe his company and services were truly acceptable to friends.

In transacting the affairs of the church, he was eminently skilful and of extensive use in the society, particularly by his assistance therein at the time of our national assemblies, being favoured with a sound judgment, quick conception and a right understanding of the letter and spirit of our discipline, with the capacity of expressing his thoughts in a clear, concise and convincing manner. He was often instrumental by his judicious and seasonable remarks, in cases of difficulty, where friends were divided in judgment, in reconciling their different sentiments, to the preservation of harmony and concord; yet was he careful not to press his opinion above measure, thereby manifesting his regard to the promotion of good order in the church of Christ,

in

CHAP.
II.
1791.

CHAP. II. in observance of the apostle's injunction to his son Timothy, that the servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves. He also shewed a good example of brotherly condescension in giving up to the necessary service and appointments of the meeting, at the request of his brethren.

1791.

He was of a sober, circumspect life and conversation, as becometh the gospel of Christ; plain and humble in his appearance, and grave in deportment, shewing himself a pattern of good works, in doctrine shewing uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity. And although it may be said, that in public testimony, he was for the most part drawn forth in a close line of doctrine, from a weighty sense of the deep revolting and departure in heart of many of the professors of the blessed truth, in the present day, from the holy law and government of the Prince of peace, yet at other seasons, particularly in more select opportunities, he was experienced to be as a nursing father to the children of the family, a tender instructor in the way to the kingdom, and an encourager of the honest-hearted therein.

And if we consider him in the more contracted circle of private life, he was a kind and affectionate neighbour, full of tenderness and compassion, feeling in much sympathy for the trials and sufferings of his friends, whom he neglected not to visit, and to commiserate in their distress as opportunity offered

ferred, to cheer the drooping heart and to administer consolation to the afflicted. CHAP.
II.

He was a diligent attender of meetings for worship and discipline at home and abroad, being scarcely ever absent from our general province quarterly and national meetings, he likewise frequently visited the smaller meetings, and the adjacent meetings of discipline, as also the families of friends in different parts of this province, to good satisfaction, being often therein much favoured to speak applicably to the several states of the visited. And when released from services of this nature abroad, he was careful not to be slothful in business at home, being closely employed for several years during the latter stage of his life, in the weighty and arduous undertaking of compiling a general history of our society, three volumes of which have been lately published, and the remaining one brought very nearly to a conclusion; of this work as it is already well known and pretty generally in friends hands, it does not appear needful for us to say much, further than to express our hope that it may be as a memorial to many, of those useful talents where-with he was gifted, and of his application of them, under the influence of divine aid, with diligence and devotedness of heart, to the cause and service of truth in his generation.

About a year before his death, he was attacked with a sudden stroke of the paralytic kind, which gave much cause of apprehension to his family and friends, that the time
of

CHAP. of his departure was at hand; from which
 II. however he so far recovered as to under-
 1791. take the performance of a religious visit to
 some meetings in the province of Leinster,
 and to join with sundry friends, nominated
 by our national meeting, in visiting the meet-
 ings of discipline in Munster, and he was
 furnished with strength and ability to ac-
 complish the service and to return to his family
 in peace.

He was at times concerned in public sup-
 plication in our assemblies, on which occa-
 sions he appeared weighty and fervent in
 spirit, as one deeply impressed with a reve-
 rent sense of the solemnity of the engagement,
 and a few weeks previous to his death, be-
 ing engaged on this wise, after interceding
 for the general state of the church, he was
 led by a remarkable transition, as if favoured
 with a sense of his approaching dissolution,
 to supplicate on his own behalf, that he might
 be more and more purified and fitted for his
 final change, that when the angel of the di-
 vine presence should be sent to his habita-
 tion with the solemn message that time
 should be to him no longer, he might be ad-
 mitted to join the hundred and forty four
 thousand who were redeemed from the earth,
 in singing praises to the lamb. And as our
 dear friend continued a zealous and diligent
 labourer in the vineyard until the conclu-
 sion of his days, being willing to spend and
 to be spent, that so he might finish the work
 allotted to him therein, as a good and faith-
 ful servant; we doubt not but he is now a
 partaker

partaker of the blessed recompense of reward in the joy of his Lord.

On the 25th day of the tenth month, 1791, being suddenly seized with another fit, which in a few hours put a period to his existence in this state of mutability, he quietly departed as one falling asleep and on the 28th he was decently interred in friends burying ground at Lisburn after a solemn meeting.

C H A P.
II.
1791.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

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TO THE

FOURTH VOLUME.

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